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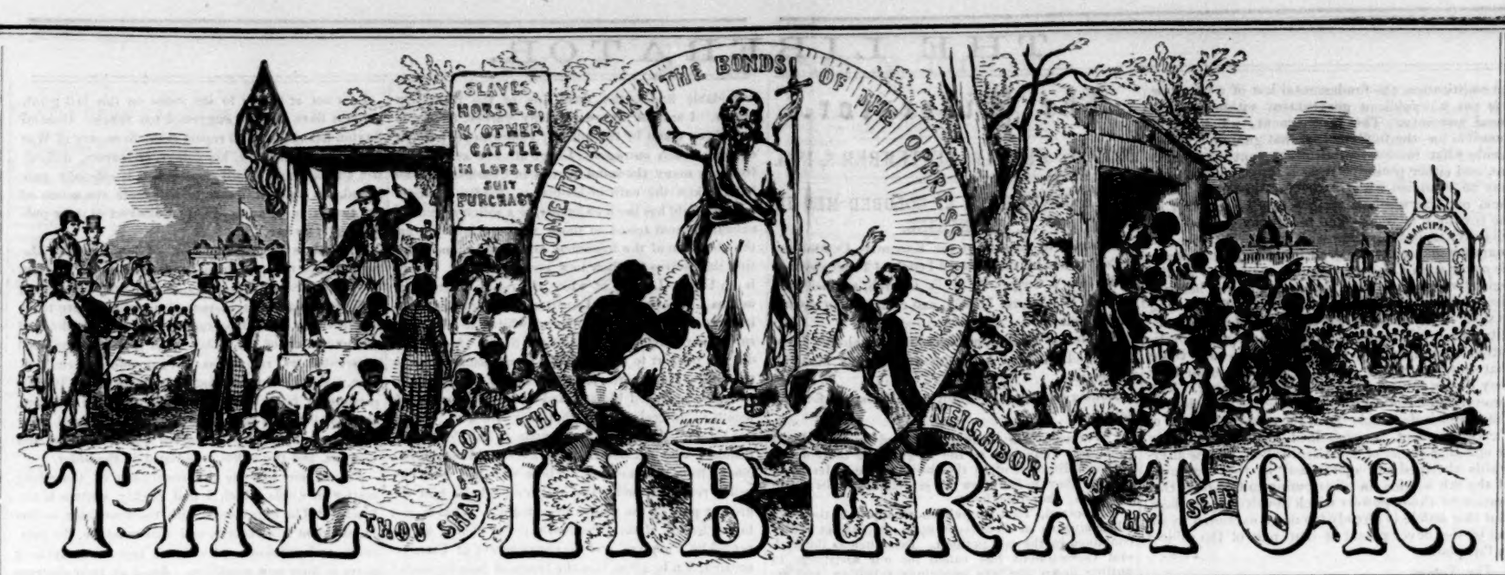
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
EMANCIPATION
THE LIBERATOR.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a w power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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## Selections.

### THE ANDERSONVILLE PRISON-KEEPER.

The trial of Capt. Wirz, the keeper of the prison pen at Andersonville, Georgia, was commenced at Washington on Tuesday, 22d. The charges at first included Gen. Lee, the rebel Secretary of War, and the Commissary of Subsistence, as having confederated to starve and murder the Union prisoners under his care, but these names were subsequently stricken out, and the Military Commission dissolved, but was immediately reorganized, and the trial continued; the prisoner's counsel, however, abandoning the case, making necessary the appointment of others by the court. Several witnesses have been examined, and their testimony more than confirms all that has been said as to the terrible inhumanity and cruelty practised by this monster on our unfortunate soldiers.

Martin E. Hogan testified as to his having been a prisoner at Andersonville; the men there were in a miserable condition—as bad as possibly could be; the men were so thick that they could hardly elbow their way; some lay in their own filth, calling for water and crying for food, but no attention was paid them; he also testified to the miserable quality of the food and its injurious effects; such half-baked corn bread, which was sour, and the soup, when it was furnished, was of an inferior quality; men afflicted with the scurvy would crawl upon the ground; the sight was horrible; very many were insufficiently clad, and, having no shelter, burrowed in the ground; as to hounds, he was brought back to prison by their agency; he had seen Capt. Wirz with hounds, trying to strike the track of an escaped prisoner; for attempting to escape from prison about the 8th of October, 1864, after the most obscene abuse from Capt. Wirz, he was fastened by the neck and feet and remained there for 68 hours; he heard Capt. Wirz give orders that he should not have food; but he did get food from some paroled comrades, who stole it for him; he had seen three comrades put in the stocks at the same time; one man was put in the stocks because he asserted his manhood by resenting the abuse of a Confederate soldier; when the prisoners were being removed from Andersonville to Millen, the witness saw Capt. Wirz take a man by the collar because he could not walk faster; the man was so worn by disease he could not; throwing the man on his back, he stamped upon him with his feet; he saw the man bleeding, and he died a short time after; in the dissecting-room he saw students in the pursuit of knowledge, sawing open the skulls of deceased prisoners, and opening the bodies.

J. D. Kieser testified that he was in the United States service, captured, and sent to Andersonville; he arrived there with the first party of 100 men; there was sufficient accommodation then, but as others were added affairs became bad, and the men began to be afflicted with diarrhea, dysentery, scurvy and gangrene; they lay on the ground, and were not protected from the weather; in April or May, 1864, supplies were received from the North; some moldy bread or cake was thrown over the dead line; one man reached beyond the line for a piece of this moldy bread or cake, when the guard fired, and shot the man through the head; saw another man after he had been shot in the abdomen; he had seen men in the chain-gang with iron collars round their necks; some of them were thus punished for attempting to make their escape; the prisoner was profane and overbearing toward our men on the slightest provocation; he had seen men bucked by order of Capt. Wirz; the witness had seen Gen. Winder at the prison; a number of our prisoners rushed up to see him; when he told our men to stand back, and gave orders to the guard to fire on those who approached the gate nearer than 15 feet; the witness was for a long time cross-examined by the defence; he had never seen Capt Wirz commit an assault on any individual prisoner, but he had heard the prisoner give orders to the guard, one of them, to confine a prisoner in the stocks for attempting to escape; Wirz called him a "d—d Yankee of a b—h;" the man spoke back, when Wirz drew a revolver and told him he would fix him; the man was sent to the stocks, where he remained 12 hours.

Mr. Thomas A. Allcock, who was a prisoner at Andersonville, testified as to Wirz searching and taking from him over $150 in gold and $280 in greenbacks, and a breastpin and ring, which were never returned. He saw Wirz kill a weak man by shooting him with a revolver, merely because he asked to go out and take a little fresh air. The witness, for remonstrating against this act of cruelty, was fastened with a ball and chain, but got loose and made his escape.

Sergeant Boston Corbett gave his account of the Andersonville prison, representing it to be a depository of filth. Men were lying around the swamp there in the most horrible condition, and one man died, he believed, from the effects of lice. Maggots and flies gathered in their sores. The food was insufficient even when the prisoner received double rations. The witness also testified to his own experience of being chased by bloodhounds. After he entered the stockade, he found nine men of his company, who had been brought there three months previously. Within two months six of these men died. Of fourteen men, who were taken to Andersonville, there were only two who returned alive, and he was one of them. He had seen men shot and killed at the place where the stream entered the stockade. The swamp on each side of the stream was so offensive, that he wondered every man there did not die. He believed that this was one cause of the death of so many of our men. The maggots were a foot deep. The soldiers dug up roots, which were dried in the sun and used for fuel. The sick lingered around the swamp as soldiers lie down to rest after a march. Going to that place, he would find dead men. The feet of others were swollen. Many had gangrenous sores. The men were unable to move, lying in their filth. They generally chose their position, and would prefer being near the sink. When the prisoner was sick within the stockade, no medicine was given to him. They, however, gave him some meat and water, and called it vinegar. Our own men made a better article, which they called sour beer. The sick were carried out at the south gate. In some cases men would die while waiting to be carried out. In regard to removing the dead, four men were assigned to that duty, and on return were allowed to bring in the wood, which, if they chose, they could sell inside for a dollar. The men became so hardened that they would say: "That's right; sell a dead man for wood." The water passing through the camp was filthy, generally, and not good to drink. At times those who had wells gave him a drink. At times they would not, and were so rude that he would drink the stream water rather than be abused. He had seen onions sold for 25 cents, 50 and 75 cents each. The effect of the treatment was to demoralize the men; some became idiotic. The nearer the stockade, the clearer was the water. Some would go over the dead line where it was broken without knowing it, and had they not been warned would have been shot. Hounds were kept there to hunt and recapture those who attempted to escape. Prisoners were allowed to go out in certain numbers to collect wood. Witness told his comrades the next time he got off the stockade he would try and escape. He made the attempt and was hunted, but not immediately found. He lay concealed for an hour or two, and heard the yelping of hounds in the distance, then nearer and nearer; they came so close as to actually rub his nose, and then made a circle around him until the hunter or soldier said he must go with him. The soldier said the old Captain told him to make the dogs tear him, (the witness,) but having once been a prisoner himself, he felt for those who were in that condition. When witness was brought before Capt. Wirz, the latter asked the soldier why he did not make the dog tear him? when he replied: "I guess the dog hurt him enough." Wirz then ordered witness to be taken back to the stockade.

L. D. Brown, captured at Plymouth and taken to Andersonville, testified that on or about the 15th of May, 1864, having written a letter to his parents, and being about to take it to the letter-box, he saw a cripple with one leg, who asked the sentinel to call Capt. Wirz. The Captain came. The man asked the Captain to let him go out. The Captain never answered, but turned to the sentinel and said: "Shoot the one-legged Yankee devil." A shot was fired, and part of the man's head was blown off, and he died in a few minutes. The bloodhounds were taken around every morning, Capt. Wirz riding with them on horseback in company with the keeper. Witness had seen a man who had been lacerated by the dogs. When he went to Andersonville, his watch and $175 in money were taken from him. For one day the prisoners were deprived of food until they had arrested about 300 men who, from starvation, had made a raid on the supply wagons.

Jacob A. Brown, brother of the former witness, and late a prisoner at Andersonville, testified that on the 27th of July, 1864, he saw Wirz in a sentry box when a man came beyond the dead line to get water. Wirz ordered him to be shot down. The sentinel fired and killed him, the shot taking effect in his head. Witness mentioned another case where a man was shot for a similar offence, the ball taking effect in his breast. He did not see him die, but had no doubt the wound was fatal. He had heard men threatened by Capt. Wirz. The latter said if the men did not fall into the ranks, they would be shot down, and the men accordingly hurried into the ranks. The witness stated cases where the prisoners were deprived of rations from the 1st to the 4th of July, 1864.

Andrew J. Spring, a prisoner at Andersonville, testified to the filthy condition of the place and the bad quality of the food, some of which was full of maggots. One of the prisoners asked Wirz to give him employment outside that he might draw an additional ration. Wirz replied: "You G— d— Yankee son of a b—, if you don't go in I'll starve every one of you to death." This was a common mode of reply to prisoners. On another occasion he said to a prisoner, who had endeavored to escape: "If you ever do that again, I'll shoot you as sure as I'll go to hell, and I know I shall go there." Witness saw a man brought in by dogs, attended by Wirz and Turner. He had seen men working in the chain gang, and one of them was so reduced that he was taken to the hospital, where he died. Had seen men in the stocks. About the 15th of May he saw a man shot from a sentry-box and Wirz soon appeared, and drawing his revolver swore he would kill every man who did not get away from the gate. Another man who was asleep rolled under the dead line and was shot. He had seen one of our negro soldiers whipped fifty or seventy-five lashes for refusing to work, he being sick. Witness said the men of the 55th Georgia were good Union men and friendly to our prisoners allowing things to be smuggled in. They told him every sentinel who shot a man received as a reward a furlough for thirty days. There are members of that Georgia regiment in Court who can verify this assertion. Six or eight times he had been to the storehouse, which was 300 or 400 feet long, and always found it filled with supplies, two-thirds of which he supposed was corn meal. There were at one time about thirty-two thousand prisoners and from five hundred to two thousand Confederate troops there.

Evidence of Dr. John C. Bates, a contract surgeon employed by the rebels in the Andersonville hospital:

"I was ordered to report to J. H. White, the surgeon in charge, but hearing he was injured by a railroad accident, I reported to R. A. Stevenson. On going into ward fifteen, of the hospital, I saw a number of men, and was rather shocked. Many of them were lying partially naked, dirty and lousy, in the sand; others were crowded together in small tents, the latter unserviceable at the best. I examined all who were placed in my charge; on further investigation of matters to make myself acquainted with the mode of doing business, the disagreeable feeling at first made on me wore off more or less, as I was becoming more familiar with the effect of misery; I inquired into the rations and talked about them; I felt disposed to do my duty, and aid all the sufferers I could; they frequently asked me for a teaspoonful of salt or for orders for a little sifting that came out of meal, as they wanted to make some bread; if I found something better than siftings I ordered it. I spent considerable of my time in writing orders. The meat ration was evoked in a different part of the hospital; the men would gather round me, and ask for a bone. Of clothing we had none; the living were supplied with the clothing of those who died. There was a prolific crop of vermin and lice. I understand the term lousy from prison experience. On retiring from the hospital, I examined myself; it was impossible for a surgeon to leave there without bringing some with him. As to medical attendance, I found the men destitute; and of clothing, bedding and fuel there was only a partial supply. As the officer of the day shortly after I arrived there, I was in supreme command, and it was my business to rectify anything wrong. I found the men, as a general thing, destitute, partly naked, sick and diseased; their disposition only was to get something to eat. They asked me for orders for potatoes, biscuits, siftings of meal and other things. The following morning I sat down and made a report on the condition of things I found at the hospital; the report was sent up. Being a novice, for some of the things I said I received a written reprimand, signed by Dr. Dillard, for Dr. R. R. Stevenson. Medicines being scarce, I gathered up a large quantity of what were the best attainable anti-scorbutic, as well as to soothe the alimentary canal, and to cure complaints of gangrene. I think the reports were not heeded. My attention was called to a patient in my ward who was only fifteen or sixteen years of age. I took much interest in him, owing to his youth; he would ask me to bring him a potato, bread or biscuit, which I did; I put them in my pocket. He had the scurvy and gangrene. I advised him not to cook the potato, but to eat it raw. He became more and more emaciated, his sores gangrened, and, for want of food and from lice, he died. I understood that it was against the orders to take anything into the prisoners, and hence I was shy in slipping food into my pockets. Others in the ward came to their deaths from the same causes. When I went there, there were 2000 or 2500 sick. I judge 20,000 or 25,000 persons were crowded together. Some had made holes and burrows in the earth; those under the sheds were doing comparatively well. I saw but little shelter, excepting what ingenuity had devised. I found them suffering with scurvy, dropsy, diarrhœa, gangrene, pneumonia, and other diseases. When prisoners died, they were laid in wagons, head-foremost, to be carried off. I don't know how they were buried. The effluvia from the hospital was very offensive; if by accident my hand were abraded, I would not go into the hospital without putting a plaster over the affected part. If persons whose systems were reduced by inanition should perchance stump a toe or scratch the hand, the next report to me was gangrene, so potent was the regular hospital gangrene; the prisoners were more thickly confined in the stockade—like ants and bees. The dogs referred to were to hunt the prisoners who escaped; fifty per cent. of those who died might have been saved. I feel safe in saying seventy-five might have been saved, had the patients been properly cared for. The effect of the treatment of the prisoners was morally as well as physically injurious; there was much stealing among them; all lived each for himself. I suppose this was superinduced by their starving condition. Seeing the dying condition of some of them, I remarked to my student: 'I can't resuscitate them; the weather is chilling; it is a matter of impossibility.' I found persons lying dead sometimes among the living; thinking they merely slept, I went to wake them up, and found they had taken their everlasting sleep. This was in the hospital; I judge it was about the same in the stockade. There being no dead-house, I erected a tent for that purpose, but I soon found that a blanket or quilt had been clipped off of the canvas, and as the material could not be readily supplied for repairs, the dead-house had to be abandoned. I don't think any more dead-houses were erected. The daily ration was less in September, October, November and December than it was from the first of January to the 20th of March; the men had not over twenty ounces of food for twenty-four hours."

Wm. Dilliard, late in the service of the Confederate army at Andersonville, testified to the filthy state of the prison and the miserable condition of the prisoners, owing to the want of the necessaries of life and from other causes. He gave facts in connection with men in the chain-gang or hunted by hounds.

Calvin Honeyouth, who was also in the rebel service at Andersonville, said he saw Capt. Wirz draw his pistol and threaten to shoot a man who was sick, for not starting up in line. Prisoners attempting to escape were hunted by hounds. He saw one who was torn in the leg by them. Another man was whipped on the bare back with a stick, because he blacked his face and attempted to escape with a gang of negroes.

James Mahan, who was also in the Confederate army, and on duty at Andersonville, testified that he and the Assistant Provost Marshal took thirteen men to the blacksmith shop to have iron collars and chains fastened on them; he received his verbal orders from Capt. Wirz, through an orderly sergeant; one of the men called "Frenchy," however, made his escape; Capt. Wirz said when he heard of it: "That damned Frenchy has escaped again;" and he sent for the dogs, which got on the trail of the man, who was captured near the stream; Wirz got off his horse and went alongside of the dogs; the witness judged that it was Wirz who fired the pistol at the man; the man's trowsers were torn by the dogs; he did not know whether the flesh was injured; witness had heard Wirz remark that he wished all the prisoners were in hell, and himself with them.

Nazareth Allen testified that he was for a time in the Confederate service at Andersonville, and was a guard there, attached to the 3d Georgia Reserves. He knew that Capt. Wirz was commander of the prison. He had seen men in the stocks, and in the chain gang. One man died in the stocks; he was thus punished for trying to escape. On one occasion, a prisoner stepped out of the ranks to ask Capt. Wirz to transfer him to another mess, when Wirz immediately ordered him back, cursing him, and threatening to shoot him. The witness testified at length to the filthy condition of the prison; the stench was so bad while he was on duty in the stockade, that he was sick pretty much all the time; he and others made complaints to their officers on the subject. A man who was sick, lying on the ground, calling in his distress for his mother, asked the witness for tent materials, but he could not give the articles, as it was against orders; the prisoners were deprived of vegetables, even onions, which they had purchased at the gate. He knew that hounds were kept at the prison to scent those who had escaped.

Capt. J. Heath, who had been on duty in the Andersonville Prison in the Confederate service, testified that in August, 1864, Wirz sent 13 men to him to be ironed; they were brought by a Provost-Marshal attached to Gen. Winder's headquarters; the next day 12 of the men were ironed; one of them had got away, when the hounds were put on his scent; the man was discovered up a tree, and a pistol was fired at him; Wirz commanded him to come down; the man asked that the dogs might not be permitted to bite him; the dogs, however, attacked him as soon as he descended, biting at his legs; Wirz could have taken the prisoner, but did not call the hounds off.

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The cross examination of Wirz's counsel easily succeeds in showing that the parties really responsible were above and behind him. It is not Wirz but Seddon, and not Seddon but Davis, and not Davis but the Southern rebels who inspired him, and not the rebels but the slavery for which they fought. Thus the individual liability may plausibly be sifted until it attaches to an incorporeal entity too indefinite to be punished—Southern barbarism. This is the chief culprit now on trial; and the tribunal is Northern Civilization. But not therefore shall the lesser culprits escape.

Look at those 35,000 Union soldiers, of whom one in seven died in a single summer. See them—not one or two, but thousands—crawling in crowds along the ground from the fetid brook, where they drank the solutions of their own excrement, unable to walk, with tin cup in their mouths, towards Dr. Bates, who is throwing them bones as he would to dogs!—see their amputated limbs gangrened and ulcering, with no surgical treatment but cold water!—see new amputations rendered necessary by the use of poisonous vaccine matter!—see them in winter freezing and dying while the woods wave in sight which they are not allowed to cut! See them attempt to sustain life on their two ounces of meat a day without flour, while their teeth are so loose from scurvy that at every effort to chew their food they shriek with pain—and this in the heart of Georgia, the most abundant food-growing State, the very Empire State of the South, through which Sherman and his conquering army afterwards march, finding such an abundance of crops and herds that they are unable to consume or even to destroy them! Then see the culprit Wirz watching like a terrible ghoul over this wreck and waste of human life and human hopes and loves, only arousing himself to action at the words, "A man escaped!" Then the bloodhounds were ordered out, and Wirz mounted his horse; then the clerks responsible for the escape were punished, even unto death; then the "sports of the Andersonville chase" commenced—the weak, unarmed fugitives fleeing before the tiger-formed, deep-breasted, blood-lapping hounds, that had never tracked a less noble game than—man! Think of all this, and then think that the victims of these infernal orgies were our Northern boys, fresh from their farms and schools, their mothers' and sisters' kisses still warm upon their brows, and the applause with which we greeted them as they marched in full, proud columns through our own streets, still ringing fresh upon their ears. As they contrasted their home lives with their sad Andersonville fate, could human life have seemed aught else to them than twenty years of heaven ending in twenty months of hell?

And is Wirz responsible for all this? Yes. So is Seddon—so is Davis—so possibly is Lee. So indirectly is the entire South.—*Chicago Tribune.*

### ANOTHER EVIDENCE OF REBEL CRUELTY.

*Horrible Inhumanity to a Free Negro of Tennessee—He is sold into Slavery against his will—The price he paid for his Attempt to Escape—A Rebel Surgeon cuts off both his feet.*

The Washington *Chronicle* contains the following story of a fiendish outrage perpetrated on a free colored man, as narrated by the poor victim:—

"My name is Richard Thomas Griffin; I am thirty-three years old. I was bought by my father, Thos. Griffin, from Mr. Caldwell, of Washington, who owned me until I was quite a boy. In 1858, I think, Dr. Richard Lee, who owned a farm on the Eastern Branch, hired me as a body servant, under the following conditions: I was to remain with him ten years, to go where he did, and to obey his orders. I was to receive at the end of my term of service five hundred dollars, a horse, a saddle and bridle, and a suit of clothes, and was to be taught reading and writing. When the bargain was made, my father took me to the City Hall in Washington, where I was recorded as a free man of color. Mr. Naylor can show the record. We (Dr. Lee and I) went from Washington to Athens, Georgia, where the Doctor held a farm of three hundred and fifty acres. Here he bought a family of slaves. He was engaged in business in Augusta, Georgia, where he spent much of his time.

"Just after the war broke out, Dr. Lee moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, where he sold all his slaves, attempted to sell me, and bought the Tennessee Hotel. The gentleman to whom he wished to sell me was a Captain Arnold, of the rebel army, who was shortly afterward captured by the Yankees in Kentucky. The owner of the hotel at the time of the sale of the property was made had a difficulty with Dr. Lee. Captain Arnold told him of the attempt to sell me to him; and the in-keeper, out of spite to Dr. Lee, told me all about it. After working about the hotel, doing a little of everything, I was hired to Captain W. G. Gammon, a quartermaster in the rebel army. He was under Major Glover; was a hard drinker, very profane, and very rough. My duty was to haul forage from Knoxville to the cavalry camps around the town. In a few months the quartermaster moved to Jonesboro, where his family resided, taking me with him. About a month afterwards the Yankees occupied Knoxville, when we moved to Bristol, then to Seven-Mile Ford, Virginia, where we remained during the summer, feeding the stock. In the fall we went back to Jonesboro, afterward to Marion, Virginia, where I was working in the Confederate shops making horse-shoes. We returned to Bristol, (on the line between Virginia and Tennessee,) and during that summer I was employed, as before, in the smithy. In the fall I was again made a teamster, and continued to drive a wagon until we got to Jonesboro again, when, becoming dissatisfied, and wishing to see Dr. Lee at Knoxville, I made an attempt to escape through the rebel picket lines. I had travelled about twenty miles when I met two rebel cavalrymen, who arrested me and took me back to Jonesboro. I was carried to Captain Gammon, who dismissed the guards and sent me to my quarters.

A short time after, some of the hired men came to me and took me to the post hospital, where I slept that night. The next morning, Doctor Williams came to me and said, 'Griffin, you shan't run away again; I'm going to cut your feet off.' He made me drink something from a black bottle—it was not laudanum, for I know the taste of that—and I fell asleep. I awoke in the night, and found that both my feet were cut off. In the morning I began to feel pain. Dr. Williams came in and looked at me. He said, 'Dick, I tried to kill you—you are a d—d hard nigger to kill—now, I'll try to cure you.' He dressed my legs, and continued to do so until the Yankees began to raid around Jonesboro, when they moved the hospital, leaving me in charge of a negro woman, who took care of me till the Federals came in. When I was able to move about on my knees, I was passed to Knoxville; then to Nashville to the Soldiers' Home. I was advised to stay here till Governor Brownlow came home. Somebody saw Governor Brownlow, and told him of my case. He said he knew Captain Gammon, and would try to hunt him up. At Nashville the officers refused to give me transportation to the North, as they said it was against orders; but two gentlemen in the transportation office, Mr. Birch and Mr. Gilson, a one-legged man, paid my passage to Louisville, and from that place I was sent to Washington on a Government pass."

This is the plain, unvarnished story of a poor, mutilated colored man. His language we have followed as nearly as possible. We have seen him, heard his story, and cross-questioned him; but his answers are plain and unvaried. His two feet have been amputated at the ankle, evidently by some one skilled in surgery. He cannot walk, but is obliged to creep. For no crime but that of an attempt to seek a better home, a right which even in the South a free negro possesses, he has been made a cripple for life. It was not the ball of a soldier's pistol, fired in anger, that made this man a mere hobbling animal; it was the skilful knife of an educated surgeon, applied in cold blood, at the suggestion of a servant of the rebellion, no more culpable, no more demoniac, than the operator himself.

We call upon Gov. Brownlow to redeem his pledge. We demand of Gen. Fiske the fulfilment of his promise to find the perpetrator of this fiendish act of cruelty. We call upon the Hon. Secretary of War, in the name of justice and for the sake of outraged humanity, to have the parties to this hellish deed unearthed and punished.

The victim of this terrible act of cruelty lives at 212 K. street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth, and is without the means of support. Will the charitable make a note of this?

### THE SUFFRAGE AND THE CONSTITUTION.

"I hope . . . . that a [State] constitution containing or permitting a difference of civil or political rights, founded on difference of color or race, will be rejected. . . . . I am perfectly aware that the Constitution of the State may be changed at any time. This difficulty is not, so far as I can see, to be overcome."—T. P. (Cambridge,) in Boston *Daily Advertiser*, June 1, 1865.

"I conclude, therefore, on this subject of negro voting, that in all States which can claim their full rights under the Constitution, it is a question for the State; and that in revolted States it is a question of policy and military government, to be decided by the national authorities, until the State is fully restored unto its former condition."—SENATOR SHERMAN, *ibid*, June 17, 1865.

It is obvious from the above extracts, especially in connection with the residue of the articles from which they were taken, that these two distinguished jurisconsults fully agree in three important points of constitutional law, particularly interesting at the present moment: 1st, That wisdom and policy, as well as justice, require that no citizen shall be denied the elective franchise on account of color or race. 2d, That the rebel States may now be held, under military law or otherwise, till they adopt constitutions founded on that principle. 3d, That when they or any other people are actually admitted to full State rights, the regulation of the matter belongs, by the Constitution of the United States, to the States themselves.

The first two propositions, it is to be hoped, would now receive the approbation of all loyal men. These distinguished writers, however, do not state the ground on which they agree that the rebel States may be rightfully coerced in this respect. They both appear to recognize the fact that the people of the rebel States have, by their rebellion, destroyed their own State governments, and renounced all their other political rights as component parts of the nation under the Constitution of the United States; and, among the rest, the right or power of resuscitating themselves, in any form as civil States within the Union, without the assent and assistance of the general Government. For holding them in this position, one of them seems to rely on the military power, under which the other also says "they certainly can be held." The military power may undoubtedly prevent their assembling in convention, or forming and adopting a constitution of any sort. The civil power also might do the same by rendering illegal all acts tending to such a result. But if, notwithstanding measures of either sort, a constitution should be actually adopted and presented to Congress, its acceptance by Congress would cure all preliminary irregularities, and the State would be restored to the Union, as a new State so accepted would be admitted, with full State rights. It is this ultimate power of acceptance or rejection that is specially invoked. If the Government have expressly or impliedly authorized or invited a people to form a State constitution preparatory to admission to the Union, or if a people have done the same, unauthorized and uninvited, Congress, having the power, may reject it arbitrarily and wrongfully, as they may abuse any other power, against reason and without right.

But this is not the power to which they would appeal. They refer to a lawful power, judiciously exercised, for adequate reasons and justifiable cause. What is that cause? Undoubtedly such a cause might exist in the irregular and unauthorized manner in which the instrument had been formed and presented, independent of any radical objections, in principle, to the instrument itself. But this would not necessarily cover the case. They consider the "permitting a difference of civil or political rights founded on a difference of color or race" an adequate objection to its acceptance. Undoubtedly it is. But on what ground? The Constitution requires many duties of the States as political bodies, many of their governments, and of the different departments and officers of their government as such, as well as the republican character of the governments themselves. The constitution of a "State in this Union" must provide the means for the performance of all these duties, or it cannot be held to be such as the United States Constitution requires for a State. It must have the officers, the departments of the government, and the corporation of whom those duties are required, or it cannot perform the duties of a "State in this Union," or be admitted or retained as such. A State constitution deficient in any one of these particulars ought to, of course, and must be rejected.

But what part of the Constitution is inconsistent with the discrimination of color in the distribution of political rights? All natural rights may be enjoyed by every man, because all moral duties may be performed by all moral beings. But all political duties cannot, and, of course, political rights may be limited accordingly. The elective franchise, for instance, is a part of the national sovereignty, and the public safety requires that it should be lodged where it will be most likely to be used for the public good rather than for the public detriment. This cannot be done by a particular examination and judgment in regard to every individual, but must of necessity be done by general rules, which exclude some who might safely and advantageously be included, and include others who as manifestly ought to be excluded. Among minors, male and female, and among adult females, who, for general reasons, are universally excluded in all governments, there are many much better qualified for the exercise of the elective franchise than many male adults who are allowed the right. If you draw the line anywhere else as on the difference of color, you encounter the same difficulty, and perhaps others. But what clause or what principle of the Constitution is violated by making color, any more than age or sex, the line of discrimination? They are all natural distinctions, and no individual energy can obliterate or avoid them. Artificial distinctions are different. The barriers created by defect of education, property, profession, or calling of any sort, may be leaped and overcome. But the natural distinctions cannot. Two of them are permanent and unalterable; the other only temporary—though made by nature, it must in due course cease by nature. The others cease not at all. Now, the right to the elective franchise is a no more perfect right than any other political right. The right to elect and to be elected stand on the same ground, and may be regulated, conferred, or withheld by similar authority and for similar reasons.

This brings us to the question where this authority is deposited, under our system, so far as respects the elective franchise, and how and for what reasons it should be exercised. This question is answered by our authors in the third proposition above stated, that the authority belongs to the individual States, and of course may be exercised when, how, and for what reason they please, so far as respects any right of interference by the United States. If this is so, they may regulate it by constitution or by law as they please, and the same revoke, repeal, alter, amend, or abolish, and regulate anew the next day, as they please. This these gentlemen are understood to hold; not in general terms merely, but in direct reference to this particular subject. If a rebel State should make a constitution to-day denying the right of any limitation of the suffrage on account of color or race, and should thereupon be re-admitted to full State rights under the Constitution, they may to-morrow, if they please, make another, limiting it exclusively on color or race, and there is no remedy. It follows, of course, that they may not only exclude the black race, but any other race; and limit the right to any one race, or family, or even individual, if they please. It is perfectly obvious that on this theory of States rights, the duty of the United States to guarantee to each State a republican government cannot be fulfilled. It is also obvious that the first two propositions above stated become entirely worthless. The answer to the questions, whether the elective franchise ought to be limited on color; and whether the rebel States may be held out of the Union, or where they have placed themselves, until they present a constitution negativing such limitation, is not worth the ink with which it may be written. We deny the whole doctrine, *totis viribus*.

The question is, Does the regulation, to wit, the limitation or extension, of the right of suffrage among the citizens belong exclusively to the individual States, by the Constitution of the United States? In the first place, the Constitution confers no rights or powers on the States or their governments, by *direct grant*, in relation to suffrage or anything else. This was discovered by the Virginia Legislature as long ago as February, 1820. In their elaborate resolutions of that date, on the Missouri restrictions, they assert emphatically, and truly, that no "rights are conferred by the Federal Constitution on the State governments." It confers none by *implication*, except those necessarily involved in the performance of the duties it enjoins on them and their officers. Any exclusive power over the elective franchise is not among these. It confers no power on the States or their governments by *reservation* even, except a part of those "not delegated to the United States." But it restricts them by numerous express and implied prohibitions. Besides all this, they are further indefinitely restrained by the supremacy of all laws made or enacted under the authority of the Constitution. When all these are duly considered in detail, as well those in *posse* as those in *esse*, it will be easy to comprehend the mass of power belonging exclusively to the States. But the Constitution recognizes the existence of the States as bodies politic, and component parts of the nation, but not as independent nations, and guarantees them republican governments, suited to their subordinate position in the Union. This places them on the ground of individuals, in some respects, as lawful agents—governmental agents, within the limits of paramount law. Our fathers had been educated to this. Their Colonial governments, though parts of the empire, were still governments, bodies politic, local corporations, authorized to make laws, ordinances, etc., but always "so as such laws, ordinances, and constitutions, so made, be not contrary and repugnant unto . . . . the laws of this our realm of England." So our present local governments are controlled by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The prohibitions, whether express or implied, are peremptory, and cannot be passed. But the most extensive and important restrictions, as well on States as individuals, arise from the absolute supremacy of the laws of the United States.

Those have been heretofore very sparingly applied, for two reasons: 1st, When the present government was instituted for the nation, it found the existing government of the United States disorganized and deranged, and all its concerns in dilapidation, while the local governments were organized and in full operation; so that the general and external interests of the country required all, and more than all, their attention, and the internal and local interests of the people demanded little or none at their hands; 2d, It was the policy of the slaveholders, who controlled the administration of the Government then and ever afterwards, till by rebellion they shook it off entirely, to keep it as far as possible from any influence over their domestic institutions and interests, which they could easier manage to their own satisfaction through their own local governments But their bad management of those institutions and interests has proved so disastrous to themselves, and so expensive of the blood and treasure of the nation, that it may be hoped that the general Government will not feel warranted, in future, to neglect or withdraw themselves from the regulation of any interest which concerns the safety, welfare, or liberty of the people. When the general Government shall actually undertake and enter upon the full performance of the duty for which it was created by "the people of the United States," viz., "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty" to all the people, the local governments will find the subjects of their exclusive jurisdiction very much curtailed, though their usefulnes may be very much increased. Duties neglected, overlooked, or deferred by the general Government have been assumed by the States, because corporations, like individuals, may do, according to law, whatever infringes no law or is prohibited by no law; and this is the principal source of all local legislation. In regard to this particular subject of the right of suffrage, Congress has never taken the first step towards defining or limiting it; and if the State legislatures had not, the whole subject might have remained unregulated to this day.

The only clauses of the Constitution having direct reference to the subject are the 2d and 4th sections of the first article, and the guarantee clause already alluded to. The first is in these words: "The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature." This settles two points only—that other qualifications than mere citizenship, being of "the people," membership of the nation, may be required; and that electors of representatives to Congress must have all the qualifications of electors of State representatives. Two other points germane to the subject it leaves both unsettled and untouched, to wit: by whom those qualifications shall be fixed, and whether any and what additional qualifications may be required for electors of members of Congress. That those last points are not concluded by the clause, as it stands,

is evident, from the fact that it would have been perfectly consistent with all it contains if it had continued—"these qualifications, and any others that may be thought suitable, may be prescribed by Congress." Such an addition would contradict nothing standing before it, but would have been entirely compatible with it, and, although it is not actually embodied in this clause, it may, without the least inconsistency, be found in or result from provisions in subsequent parts of the Constitution. No grant of an independent or exclusive power over the subject is here made to the State governments. The language imports no such thing; and even if it was susceptible of any such construction, its utter incompatibility with other provisions would prove such construction erroneous.*

The first part of the 4th section is in these words: "The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof." If the section ended here, and this was the only clause in the Constitution relating to the suffrage, there can be no doubt but it would give the entire subject to the States. The time, place and manner of an election, in default of any other provisions, would include every circumstance in regard to it necessary for carrying it into complete execution, and giving it its perfect effect. There are, among others, the subject on which the suffrage is to be taken, the mass of people from whom the voters are to be selected, the principle of the selection governing the number and qualifications of electors, their previous registration, the frequency of elections, the permanence and functions of the elected, the check-list and mode of voting by ballot or *viva voce*, the sorting, counting, declaring, recording, and returning the result, the appointment of the officers and their authority, under whose supervision all this is to be done, together with the means of punishing frauds and securing the purity of the election; all these items are included in the manner of an election, and if not specially provided for elsewhere in the Constitution, necessarily fall under this general provision. Two of them are otherwise regulated. The subjects to be acted on are fixed. The body of people from whom the electors are to be taken is fixed. But we have seen that neither the principle of selection nor the number or proportion of those to be selected is fixed by the 2d section, nor is the power of fixing them there assigned to either government. This, then, with all other items of "time, place, and manner," whether mentioned above or not, fall directly within the purview of this 4th section.

And if the section had ended as above, it would have been seen clearly, and nobody would have disputed, that the whole power over them was expressly assigned to the State governments. But the 4th section does not end there. It proceeds as follows: "But the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations," etc. They may *alter* them if not made right, or they may *make* them *ab initio* if not made at all by the State legislatures. This places the whole subject in the hands of Congress for their ultimate control, in the same broad and express form as it does primarily in the hands of the State legislatures. This was done, as stated by the authors of the "Federalist," on the avowed principle "that every government ought to contain in itself the means of its own preservation." If the construction of the 2d section should be that the qualifications of electors of State and United States representatives should be the *same*, then the 4th section, by giving the last expressly to Congress in the last resort, necessarily gives both. This is probably the true meaning. If the construction of the 2d section should be different, and require only that electors of representatives to Congress should have *all* the qualifications of electors of State representatives, without restriction as to others, then the provisions of the 4th section would not *directly* apply to the regulation of the qualifications of electors of State representatives. But as Congress has expressly the power, in the last resort, to regulate *all* the qualifications of electors of members of Congress, and as no power is given to the State legislatures in reference to electors of State representatives, it would follow that such regulation as Congress should make in regard to their own case would control also the State electors. And in that case, other provisions of the Constitution would come strongly in aid of the power thus given to Congress over the whole subject. The next section gives to each House the right to "judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members." This is in the nature of a judicial rather than a legislative power. Each House may not make laws prescribing the times, places, and manner of elections, returns, qualifications, etc., but they may "judge" of their conformity to law, in particular cases, as they arise; and experience has shown that they may sometimes, for party purposes or otherwise, judge contrary to law.

In addition to this, and more directly applicable to the duty of the general Government to regulate the elective franchise, in respect to the number and qualifications of the electors to State offices, is the clause of guarantee, art. 4, § 4: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." Every independent political community must select its own depositories of its sovereignty. It is as much impossible for every member of a nation to be a voter as it is for him to be the king. The nation has the same right to say the whole sovereignty shall be deposited with one man, and who that man shall be, as it has to say it shall be deposited with a few or many, and who the few or many shall be. The right to do either arises from absolute necessity, and involves the principle of election. An election may be made by general laws, or by an examination and judgment on every man's claim. In a monarchy or oligarchy it is usually made by general rules adopted beforehand. In a republic it is physically impossible it should be made otherwise. These rules should not only recognize the nature and objects of the *trust*, in relation to the general welfare, but should also be just in respect to individuals, founded on the equal rights of man as recognized in the principles of our Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. A man justly conscious of his own superior qualifications to be President of the United States, has just the same right to be President that a female or minor thus qualified has to be an elector. They both depend upon an election in the form and under the rules of law. The present question is, Who, under our Constitution, shall prescribe the law by which the voter, a holder of a part or the whole of the sovereignty, shall be elected or designated? And it is perfectly obvious that whoever does this, in reference to an individual State, decides whether that State shall be a republic, an oligarchy, or a monarchy. As the Constitution expressly imposes this duty on the general Government, it necessarily includes the other also. By making the general Government responsible for the republicanism of every State, it confers all the power necessary for that purpose. It confers on the States no power inconsistent with this; and the people of the States cannot do so, because they have already disposed of the power by giving it to the United States. The argument lies in a nutshell. If the Government decline or disclaim the right of control over the elective franchise in the States, they abdicate and repudiate their constitutional duty to fulfil the guarantee by putting it beyond their power to perform it. The elementary writers on the science of government represent the disposition and regulation of that portion of sovereignty exercised by the suffrage as the principal ingredient in constituting a republic—absolutely essential to be provided for in the fundamental law. By whom, and on what subjects, it may be used in a republic, are as necessary to be prescribed and known as it is in a monarchy to designate who is the prince. The same doctrine is held by distinguished American statesmen. It enters into the very nature of republicanism, its essential elements, its component characteristics. There may be others, to be sure, but this is one indispensably necessary to the identity of the compound idea; any one of which, being wanting, destroys the republicanism of the government. What these are beyond the suffrage, it is not now necessary to enquire. But whatever they are, they must all be found in the constitution, the fundamental law of a State, or it is not a republican government within the national guaranty. The Government, which is responsible for the fulfilment of that guaranty, must decide what those essential component ingredients are, and either prescribe them beforehand that they may be complied with in the first instance, point them out afterwards that they may be supplied in the revisions, or repeal and nullify, by general law, whatever is incompatible with them; otherwise the guaranty may remain a dead letter. *This responsible power is in Congress*, because they have all the legislative power of the Government, and because also they have all the special power of admitting States. They must of necessity decide what constitutes a republican government, accept no constitution that does not, and disfranchise any State that destroys such a government when formed, or they do not fulfil the constintional guaranty. The same right of control over the elective franchise in the States is deducible from the general powers of the Government, as contained in the introductory or enacting clause of the Constitution, and as afterwards abridged and epitomized in the beginning of the 8th section, in distributing to Congress that portion of those powers which devolves upon them. But this article is already too much extended to admit of the development of that part of the subject in this place. T. F.

—*The Nation.*

* This clause, as originally reported by the "Committee of Detail" in the first draft of the Constitution, was in these words: "The qualifications of electors shall be the same, from time to time, as those of the electors, in the several States, of the most numerous branch of their own legislatures." In the course of the discussion of the clause, Mr. Governeur Morris said: "Another objection against the clause, as it stands, is, that it makes the qualifications of the National Legislature depend on the will of the States, which is thought not proper." The "Committee of Revision" reported the clause in the form in which it now stands. It is a significant fact, in reference to the precise effect of this change of phraseology, that the revised draft was made by Mr. Morris himself.—*See Madison Papers in loco.*

## UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND PUBLIC PEACE.

One of the arguments used to oppose Universal Suffrage is, that such a law would encounter so powerful a resistance from a large part of the inhabitants of the Southern States, that election day would become a day of riot and fight. It is asserted that "public opinion," assisted in this case by a lawless violence, would prevent the actual enforcement of any legal or constitutional clause, relative to universal suffrage.

It will be remarked that such a fear—if well grounded—is not at all laudatory for the white element of the population, which is here charged with opposing by violence the enforcement of a law of the land. We have a better opinion of our white brethren than they have of themselves. We do not entertain the slightest doubt that the law, if enacted, will be complied with. But, suppose it would be resisted, and that, instead of giving good example and showing themselves law-abiding citizens, the white voters would turn to be rowdies and rioters. What then?

Some answer: "A military force will be necessary in all cities, towns, districts and precincts; and three hundred thousand soldiers will not suffice to keep good order and peace on election day, through the Southern States." This is a very erroneous calculation. We will have in the Southern States one million of loyal voters, mostly colored, and partly white. This large number of one million will be directly interested in the enforcement of the suffrage law. Where is the party strong enough in the South to keep one million voters from the polls? What intimidation can be exercised against one million freemen? Among those freemen, fully two hundred thousand will have served in the United States Army, and know how to handle the revolver and the musket. Any attempt to repulse them from the polls will be folly, and the rioters will pay dear for their rashness.

On the contrary, the imposing force thus brought to the polls will be a guaranty of order and conduct. It is well known that small constituencies are much more exposed to fraud, violence and trickery than large assemblages of people. It is easier to buy up, or to intimidate, or to influence a small number than a large one. The English elections were, in the last century, a perfect model of corruption and scandal. But since most of the free-holders obtained the ballot, it has become impossible for the English squires to apply to large constituencies—from five thousand to ten thousand—their old system of corruption and moral intimidation.

But, above all, it looks as very lame reasoning to object to universal suffrage on the ground of the danger of riot and fight on election days, when every one knows that partial suffrage brought exactly that dreaded result in this community. Can election day be worse, under any rule, than it was—with exclusive white suffrage—in 1858? Can lawlessness and the disregard of all political morality go farther than it was brought to by Beauregard and McClellan, in "the good old time"? Who candidly believes that such an audacious attempt to smother the free expression of the popular will could be tried again, had the rioters to fight not a small party of timorous whites, but the whole black and colored population of New Orleans?

Let them try their hands at it.—*New Orleans Tribune.*

## COX ON SEPARATION OF RACES.

We were about to make an elaborate answer to the opinion of Gen. Cox, now a candidate for the Governorship of Ohio, on the separation of races in America, when we recalled to our mind the adventure of the celebrated Don Quixotte with the windmills. Having looked around, and seen how the separation of races is observed in the Southern States, we found out the *fact* that, instead of being a repulsion, there is a powerful attraction, at least *from the white race to the black one.* By this time it would be a pretty hard thing to find out a pure—entirely pure negro child, in the whole city of New Orleans, where seventy thousand persons of African descent are now residing. In all plantations, throughout the country, most of the children that one can see are of mixed blood. It is sufficiently known that most if not all of the planters were devoted apostles of miscegenation, and in many cases used their unlimited authority to practically carry out that "infamous" doctrine. So that the black race had to submit to actual miscegenation. In the generation now growing up, a pure African, entirely black, will hardly be found. And you say that there is a repulsion between white and black! Not from the white men, to be sure.

When you speak of separation, it is your illegitimate children and their unfortunate mothers that you propose to banish from among you. The talk is idle and senseless. The attraction between both races has proved too strong for their ever being severed. The ties of nature have grown up day by day, and now they embrace nearly the whole colored population. You conceal it to the world, but there is no use for it. It is a well-known fact, which strikes in the face any traveller putting his feet on our shore. Look at the color of the people of African descent, in the streets of New Orleans, and find a true negro among many thousands—if you can. You are ashamed of it! Why? Because the great mass of the blacks—or more exactly of the brown—had no liberty, no education, and no social status. But now they will enjoy, as any white man or woman, these advantages, and become your equals. Let us tell you the truth, gentlemen: you will never let them go.—*Ibid.*

DE BOW REDIVIVUS. Mr. De Bow, the editor of *De Bow's Review*, is now in Richmond, and is a member of the editorial committee appointed to receive and welcome President Johnson and Cabinet, should they visit the capital of Virginia. The Norfolk *Post* produces an extract from his *Review* of June, 1861, and wickedly suggests that it be made the basis of his address to the President when the latter visits Richmond. The quotation is as follows:

"The army of the North is as remarkable for its base material as ours for its high morality. Respectable men do not go a-rogueing, (this is Mr. De Bow's own word, spelling exactly as he wrote it,) and the attack on the South is avowedly a rogue's expedition. The Northern troops are, with very few exceptions, paupers, thieves, ignorant foreigners, murderers, bullies and criminals of every description. They are not half so well-informed as our negroes, and it adds much to the indignation and exasperation of our troops that they have to meet these nomadic scoundrels."

QUESTIONABLE LOYALTY. The *Christian Observer*, one of the Presbyterian organs in Richmond, condemns a new juvenile singing book issued by the American Tract Society of New York, because it contains a song entitled the "Land of the Free," which commences as follows:

"My country, my country, I cherish thee still,
Though many the ills that defile thee;
I'll weep o'er thy woes, I'll pray for thy weal,
And never, no, never revile thee."

It describes the hymn as a "political song, concealed as it were among the hymns, like a snake coiled up among flowers, which will prevent its extensive circulation among the Sabbath schools of the South."


# The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1865.


## STATE CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN IN TENNESSEE.

Pursuant to the call of the Executive Committee, a Convention of the Colored People of Tennessee met in St. John's Chapel, A. M. E. Church, at Nashville, at 10 A. M., August 7, 1865, and remained in session during four days.

Mr. Nelson Walker, of Nashville, was elected President, and Messrs. A. Smith and Motley Maxwell Secretaries.

Among the most important resolutions, we find the following:

"Whereas, The petition presented by the colored people of Tennessee to the Legislature thereof has not been disposed of by that body, as we understand, because they do not know the sentiments of their constituents; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we publish an appeal to the loyal white citizens of Tennessee upon the subject matter contained in the said petition. Inasmuch as the Federal Government has called for our assistance in putting down the late iniquitous rebellion, and acknowledged not only our humanity and right to freedom, but our just claim to all other rights as citizens under the Government; therefore be it

"Resolved, that we protest against the Congressional delegation from Tennessee being received into the Congress of the United States, if the Legislature of Tennessee does not grant the petition before it prior to December 1, 1865."

Again:

"Whereas, The colored citizens in many remote counties of this State do not receive just compensation for their labor, and are otherwise badly treated by the disloyal whites; therefore,

"Resolved, That each county delegation of this Convention constitute a committee, to look after the interests of our people throughout the State, and make known their grievances to Major-General Fisk, or his agents, through the Central Committee at Nashville.

"Resolved, That the said Committee coöperate with and assist all agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and benevolent societies in the establishment of schools."

And again:

"Resolved, That it shall be the duty of the State Central Committee, and its branches in the various counties, to prepare as accurately as possible a return of the number of our people in each section; the occupation followed, property owned by them, taxes paid, the number of children and adults attending schools, the various places of worship owned by the people, and all such other information as, showing our progress, will be of advantage to the cause.

"Resolved, That the State Committee cause the publication of these figures and facts in the *Colored Tennessean*, so that the world may know of our true condition."

One of the most important features was the radical speech delivered before the Convention by Maj.-Gen. Fisk, Assistant Commissioner of Freedmen. Alluding to the mode of cultivation of plantations, the General said:

"Work land upon shares as much as possible. This is a popular way of doing things. You must fulfil your contract, and I will see that the landlord fulfils his. You must not only have freedom, but homes of your own—thirty or forty acres, with tools, mules, cottages and school houses, etc. That is the picture for the future. I shall move it just as quickly as possible. I would like to settle 10,000 before the first of next January. I ask fair play, and fair play I shall have. Compulsory labor will not be tolerated. Differences will be adjudicated by officers and agents of this Bureau, except in places where civil courts receive the testimony of colored people. They will also receive the same punishment for crime as the laws provide for the white man in like cases.

"Now for the suffrage," said the General. "I have not thought so much about that as about good homes, settled with your families, and you provided with good bread and butter, and good jackets. The suffrage will come around all right. I believe in it. I was one of the first men to give the colored man a Bible—the first to give him a bayonet—and I shall not be behind in giving him the *ballot*. With this swarm of *Bs*, I think the negro will take care of himself.

"North of the Ohio, many are willing to give the negro the suffrage. The New York *Herald*, the most influential paper in the country, advocates negro suffrage. It will be sufficiently stirred up if we give attention to other things, such as getting homes down here. There are a great many people north of the Ohio river, among the old settlers of the country, who believe the negro should not vote until he is somewhat educated. I don't object, if the test is to be applied to white men. Let everybody be educated; and if I could make a law to-day, I would say, after 1870, no man in America should vote who could not read his ticket, and write his name upon it. All I ask is, that because a man is black simply, *that* shall not be a reason for shutting him off. No oligarchy of skin, or of red whiskers! Let the test apply to everybody. *The President is in favor of this measure.* I had a long conversation with Mr. Johnson. I believe him to be your firm friend. He said some good things to the colored people in this vicinity last year. I don't think he has backslidden a bit."

The Convention was a splendid success. The attendance of the ladies was at all times very full. Reporters of all the important papers were present, and gave full reports of the proceedings.

## THE FREEDMEN IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH.

Below, we give the concluding portion of a highly interesting letter addressed by Mr. J. A. Saxton to Professor F. J. Child, of Harvard University, relating to the Schools for Freedmen in the Department of the South:—

"The negroes are every day demonstrating practically that they have all the capacities that make successful agriculturists, tradesmen and men of business. There is a new school of philanthropists who seem to think that the only word needed to be addressed to the freedman is an exhortation to industry. That is the beginning, middle and end of their speculations and discussions concerning him. The whites who can read and the great mass who cannot, but have heard it read, must have been amused, or amazed, by the lecture of Provisional Governor Holden, the representative of Southern whitehood, to the blacks upon the vital importance of industry to their future condition. This in the face of the fact that contempt for productive labor was a part of the systematic education, and exemption from it the pride and boast of his caste and color, from the feudal baron of the plantation to the meanest sandhiller. His homily was addressed to almost the only people in North Carolina who do not hate labor, even with the fresh memory of the measureless wrongs it has made them suffer; the only people who have ever worked, who know how to work, or who are willing to work. If he had addressed his exhortation to the men of his own class, or those others of the same color, whom the existence of his class had cursed with a horror of labor, there would have been fitness in it and grace—a token of returning sanity, and a promise of State reconstruction on a basis of justice. As it is, it sounds like the voice of the old spirit of Slavery announcing a new serfdom under the new formal conditions, scarcely milder or more tolerable than the old.

Such talk as Holden's is simply impertinent and an implied falsehood. Coming from a slaveholder and traitor, a Rebel for the sake of Slavery, it is an insult both to the negroes and the nation. Though not spoken in the Department concerning which you have specially inquired, it illustrates the general temper and feeling of the old slaveholders in South Carolina. A recent interpretation of the real meaning of these homilies is furnished in the latter State. Brig.-Gen. Hatch, the military commander of the Northern District of the Department of the South, which includes Charleston, issued a proclamation, inviting the old planters to take the oath of allegiance, repossess their lands, and cultivate them by the labor of the freedmen. All who neglected to do so were to be held as enemies of the Government. The first act of those who accepted this invitation was to prohibit the freedmen to go off of the plantation, or work for anybody but themselves, without their consent. All did not obey this plantation law, and cases, apparently well authenticated, and certainly credible, are reported, where the negroes have been shot down when found beyond the formidable limits, the dead line of the plantation prison. I am not aware that any earnest measures have been taken by the military authorities to prevent or punish such outrages. I have already stated that from the many thousand whites in Charleston, who have taken the oath of allegiance, hardly a single hand of help has been extended, or a solitary voice of encouragement raised to those who are laboring for the elevation of the freedmen, and to aid them in fitting themselves for their new responsibilities. There is no Union League of white natives in Charleston, nor, as I believe, in the Department. A public meeting was called by a committee of whites to take measures for the reorganization of the State. As the call did not purport to be exclusive, many blacks came to the hall. They were ejected by a petty subaltern officer, who disgraced himself and the army by his officious volunteering to do that dirty work of the negro-haters. An appeal was made to the Post Commander, who decided that blacks should not be excluded from the meeting. Those who had been expelled returned, and when they entered the hall the greater part of the whites deserted it. What is not to be feared, if the President's policy should be accepted by Congress, and the entire power of State reconstruction be given into the hands of false loyalists? Few of the late rebels who have taken the oath of allegiance have given any evidence of sincere conversion and penitence for their treason. Maryland Johnson has instructed them that such oaths are unconstitutional, and that there is no perjury in violating them. As far as may be judged from their utterances, they are as defiant as ever, and have submitted to the authority of the United States only for the sake of saving all that can be saved from the wreck of their former power, and with the hope of recovering it substantially in other forms less palpably repugnant to justice and the usages of civilized communities. They keep the old despite of labor, the old contempt of the negro as a slave, intensified to hatred of him as a freeman. They still wear the bold front of the years of their domination, and have not even the grace of hypocrisy to pretend to submit from conviction, or change of purpose or principle, but only from the power of an overmastering necessity. The terrible discipline of these four years has taught them nothing but to feel the power of the Union, and to hate it. Like the Bourbons, they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, and seem entirely unable to comprehend, or with the obstinacy of madness refuse to recognize, that their crime has placed them in entirely new relations to the Government and to their late slaves, as public enemies, defeated traitors, and vanquished oppressors. Yet they claim the right to demand and prescribe terms of reconciliation, with those who have waged a patriotic and honorable, and not a parricidal and infamous war! Will our government and people forget that past, and lose the supreme opportunity of justice and righteousness which Providence has given us?

To return to the industrial topic. The freedmen need no exclusive exhortations to industry. Notwithstanding the teaching and example of their masters and their fellow sufferers, the poor whites—fellow-sufferers in equal degree, though boasting of freedom, and despising them—the freedmen have no idea that freedom consists in sitting idly with folded arms, and living by theft or beggary, or the virtual theft of the labor of others. Hitherto they have shown, in this respect, a truer practical conception of freedom, its duties and limitations, than their white contemners. Generally they do more and better work for wages than the lash could ever whip out of them. In the management of their own lands, or business, no people could be more industrious or shrewd. They are eager to adopt, as they have the means, new methods, and procure improved implements of cultivation. They are not over anxious to work for the mean and fraudulent compensation offered by the returned planters, nor to be defrauded of, as they have often been, a portion of their promised wages by the speculators, who went there expecting to find mines of wealth in their ignorance and simplicity. They are these last, chiefly, who are the loudest in repeating the old plantation dogma, that nothing but the whip can make the negro work. This people have been embarrassed by hinderances and obstructions, to which I shall briefly advert, at almost every step of their progress, put in their way by those who should have been, and in whom they expected to find, helpers—for such to their hope was every white Yankee. They suffered much injustice, fraud and contempt; and because they did not submit with patience to the plantation standard, the dumb submissiveness of slaves, there was enough to see, in their passive resistance to wrong, the invincible indolence assumed to be the characteristic of their race. It would seem to have been expected and required of these ignorant human outcasts, just emerging from the horrors of an oppression of generations, tending to crush out all distinctive human attributes, that they should exhibit the full-blown and matured virtues of free manhood. No subject race, whether subject by law like the Southern slave, or by the operation of social and economic forces, as the laboring classes everywhere, would stand the tests by which, as it would seem, the freedmen have been too often judged. Their manhood is crippled and defaced by a wrong, in which we acquiesced for those generations, and were willing to acquiesce perhaps for other generations. They are what we have suffered them to be made, and because we do not find them what it was impossible for them to be, will we abandon them as hopeless of improvement and elevation? Will we be content to give the name of freedom without giving them also the means of self-protection? In this day of retribution and atonement, shall their future be given into the hands of the old oppressors, that they may bind them with new chains, made more galling by the glimpses they have caught of freedom? to the tender mercies of men embittered and transformed to enemies by the very means through which Providence has been bringing them out of bondage?

I have not gone much into detail, but will state what I believe to be the net result of the experience in the Department of the South—that the negroes have demonstrated more than their availibility as an agricultural peasantry. They have also so far proved that they possess the capacity of forethought, voluntary industry, prudence, and ability to conduct processes and calculate results necessary for independent owners and cultivators, that those qualities may be safely assumed as elements in all discussions of the problem—*what to do with the negro?* These qualities will be safely and healthily developed by giving them scope and opportunity, by leaving the freedmen, as men of other races are left, to themselves, under the protection of equal laws, and with not one of the common incitements to industry and self-elevation denied or withheld from them.

I can only glance at some of the hinderances and influences adverse to the progress of the freedmen at which I have hinted. They are, the almost universal belief among white men, even the ostensible liberators, of the essential inferiority of the black race, and their incapacity of rising to the rank of recognized manhood; their conseq uent contempt for the negro, or indifference to his present or future condition; the general want of sympathy, and of the undisguised hostility of the military authorities; the many wrongs suffered from open violence, or fraud and swindling committed by whites, soldiers and civilians; their unavoidable distrust of the intentions and good faith of the Government, produced eminently by the apparent breaches of promise in the matters of the lands, the military conscription, and the pay of the soldiers; the uncertain, ill-defined and continually disputed powers of the officer appointed by the Government as its special representative to the negroes for their protection and improvement; the want of the cordial coöperation of the military authorities, so indispensable to the success of his operations; the conflicts of jurisdictions and questions of authority raised by some of the Department commanders.

I am not at liberty to say more on this last point, perhaps have already suggested too much. General Saxton has made a full report to the Secretary of War of his administration, his doings, endeavors, difficulties and failures. Until that report is officially published, he is not at liberty to anticipate the action of the Secretary by authorizing an abstract of it for public or private use.

A word as to the allotment of lands in the Department to the freedmen, under the order of Gen. Sherman. Some difficulties, chiefly that of obtaining sufficient means of transportation, which were to be furnished by the Department Commander, delayed the execution of the order. Yet it was begun, and prosecuted as rapidly as circumstances permitted. Gen. Saxton estimated that there were about 100,000 persons to be provided for. On the first of June, about 40,000 had been colonized, and received their allotments upon the islands of South Carolina and Georgia, and the coasts designated in the order.

Permit me to state the conclusion of the whole matter in words which I find readily written to my hand:—"The experiment with the Freedmen in this Department is a success, and that must be the summary and substance of all true reports concerning them in their new condition. Amid all their obstructions, and in spite of them, they have made constant progress, and proved their right to be received into the full communion of freemen. They have shown that they can appreciate freedom as the highest boon; that they will be industrious and provident, with the same incitements which stimulate the industry of other men in free societies; that they understand the value of property, and are eager for its acquisition, especially of land; that they can conduct their private affairs with sagacity, prudence and success; that they are not ignorant from natural incapacity, but from the brutishness of their former condition; that they are intelligent, desirous and apt to acquire knowledge of letters, docile and receptive pupils; that they aspire to and adopt, as fast as means and opportunity admit, the social forms and habits of civilization; that they quickly get rid, in freedom, of the faults and vices generated by slavery; and in truthfulness, fidelity and honesty, may be compared favorably with men of another color, in conditions as, and even less, unfavorable to the development of those qualities; that they are remarkably susceptible of religious emotion and the inspirations of music; that, in short, they are endowed with all the instincts, passions, affections, sensibilities, powers, aspirations and possibilities, which are the common attributes of human nature. They have given the highest proof of manhood by bravery and discipline on many a battle-field, where defeat, they well knew, had for them no mercy. The senseless prejudices and bitter contempt toward their race are disappearing before their peaceful and orderly conduct under trials and provocations, their patient hope and heroism in war. The events of four years have been disciplining the mind of the nation to prepare it to give them full recognition and ample justice."

## FRIENDS OF PROGRESS IN CONVENTION.

*Negro Suffrage and the Democratic Party—The Religion of Fact and the Religion of Fiction.*

LUDLOW, (Vt.) August 27, 1865.

A three days' Convention of Spiritualists and Friends of Progress, in the Universalist Church and Town Hall in this place, has just closed. I have attended, and participated in its discussions, at each of its eight sessions. The attendance has been large. It was a State Convention, and persons were present from all parts of Vermont. Intelligent and earnest men and women were here, not merely to get but to give knowledge, energy and direction. An impulse has been given to the thoughts, feelings, sympathies and energies of a large number of the men and women of this State, in the right direction, as I think, on various subjects.

One who accompanied Sherman in his march from Chattanooga to Atlanta, to Savannah and up through the Carolinas, and gave his whole attention to the interests of the slaves who were made free by that march, was with us in all our sessions, to advocate the equality of the negro with the white man before the law. Suffrage, industry, ownership of land, and education, without regard to color or sex, were advocated by every speaker. Also, the duty and expediency of excluding rebels, and all who profess to owe a higher allegiance to a State or foreign government than they owe to the Union, from the use of the ballot in the election of Federal officers, was strongly urged. Also, the duty of excluding drunkards and drunkard-makers was advocated.

The question was asked—*Has Congress a right to say who shall vote for Congressmen and President?* This power has been assumed and exercised by the Federal government from the first. It has always decided who shall be its electors. It decided that all who voted in *State* governments might vote in the U. S. government. The same power that made this decision can also decide that those may vote in the Federal government to whom the States deny the ballot. If the rebel States deny the ballot to the negroes in administering the State governments, Congress may give it to them in carrying on the Federal government. Urge Congress, then, to invest the negro with the ballot in electing Congressmen and the President, even if the States do refuse it to them in State elections.

The Democrats are preparing for the general election of 1868. They evidently intend to go into that election on the issues of assuming the rebel debt, or repudiating the Federal debt, and also in opposition to negro suffrage. This is clearly brought out by the Democracy of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and hinted at by the party in Maine. The cry against negro suffrage and the national debt is to be the party cry of the Democracy in its efforts to gain control of the Federal government. The Northern Democracy will do all they can to aid the defeated rebels to crush the freedmen, and make their freedom a curse.

A Committee was appointed to raise means to send teachers to teach the freedmen, and to interest the people of the State in their welfare. The following resolutions were presented and discussed:—

Resolved, That the one great end of our existence is to elevate and perfect the nature we all bear; and the only way to do this is to cultivate and cherish a loving and sacred reverence for all of human kind.

Resolved, That man is before and above creeds, constitutions, churches and governments, and should never be sacrificed to them.

Resolved, That the most acceptable and useful way to love and worship God is to love and respect our fellow-beings, and to labor to save them from war, slavery, drunkenness, prostitution, and every error and practice that tends to their degradation.

Resolved, That reverence for human beings is the only safeguard of human rights; and that the only way to inspire men and women with such reverence is to associate God with each and every one, as we do with Christ.

Resolved, That God is personified with each and every human being as he was in Christ, *differing only in degree*—and that husbands and wives, parents and children, and friends and neighbors, should see and worship God in one another, and not in books, times or places.

Resolved, That security against doing or receiving harm is the one object of all religions; and it is our right and duty to alter or abolish any religion which fails to answer this end.

These resolutions awakened much thought, and were fully discussed, and that too in a church, without let or hindrance. A change has indeed come over the people! A power is arising to confront the popular theology, and meet it face to face, in a death-struggle. It is simply Fact against Fiction, and the religion of Fiction must go down before the religion of Fact—the religion of Authority before the religion of Conviction. HENRY C. WRIGHT.

P. S. BETHEL, (Vt.) Sept. 1. I came to this place from Ludlow. Lectured here last night on Sovereignty. Man was made to be governed. By whom? By himself, and by no one else. By whom? By the fixed laws of life and health under which his body and soul exist. Human constitutions, codes, creeds and Bibles are binding only so far as they echo those fixed laws. God enacts those laws through the agency of the Mother; not through Congress or Parliament and Courts. Man has no right to make laws even for himself; much less for others. God has made the law; man's duty is to interpret and obey it; each one for himself, no one for another.

Such is the import of the Declaration of Independence. "All just powers are derived from the consent of the governed." What power has each over himself? What over others? The almost universal sentiment is, that a few are born to command; the masses to obey. This is the slavemonger's argument. Equality is the self-evident right of man. The negro was born to govern the Saxon, as really as the Saxon to govern the negro; the wife to govern the husband, as really as the husband was made to rule the wife. Not one was made to command; all were made to obey.

This is Democracy as defined by the Declaration. AUTOCRACY is the right word; i. e. *Self*-government—a government in which there is but one to govern, and but one to be governed. Man should never seek to govern any but himself. He should never consent to be governed by any power outside of himself. God within us is our only Lawgiver, Judge and King. To this must all governments come. Man must abolish the throne, and God ascend it, before violence and anarchy can cease. The question of government is to be the question of the world. By whom and by what laws can man be truly and justly governed?

H. C. W.

## FRIENDLY EXPRESSIONS AND HINTS.

RED BLUFF, (Cal.) June 6, 1865.

DEAR SIR,—With you I can truly thank God that your vocation as an abolitionist is ended. It was my fortune, while a youth, to hear you address the people of Georgetown, Mass., and vicinity on that subject upon which all are so unanimous now, although then not very popular even in Massachusetts. When a great general has achieved some victory, congratulations pour in upon him from all sides. It is with that spirit I address you these lines, congratulating you that you have been spared to witness so glorious a termination of that work in which you have spent your life. My father, with whom you were once acquainted, I believe, has often told me of the struggles and difficulties surrounding your efforts in establishing the *Liberator*—that incendiary sheet, which it was hardly safe to expose to daylight in this State a few years ago, and which I delighted to send by post to some of our fire-eating citizens.

When I read the account of that group, consisting of yourself, George Thompson and others, standing around the grave of the father of traitors at Charleston, I thought that, truly, your hour of victory had indeed come. I could scarcely realize the fact that Wm. Lloyd Garrison could stand up in the Sodom of the South, and proclaim his principles, with none to molest or make him afraid. I think that it rarely falls to the lot of any man to live to witness the final triumph of a principle of which he has been the principal exponent. Great inventors die, and the coming generations enjoy the fruits of their genius. The philanthropist conceives plans and purposes to be completed only after he has passed away. I therefore congratulate you as one of the most fortunate of men, who, after long years of struggle against prejudice in the advocacy of a doctrine so particularly unacceptable from its very truth, can now rest from your labors, and behold your work finished. Slavery is dead, beyond the power of man or devil to resurrect it.

Hoping that the remainder of your life may be made pleasant with the satisfaction of knowing that your life-work is ended, I remain,

Truly yours, L. W. ELLIOTT.

SANTA FE, New Mexico, Aug. 12, 1865.

DEAR SIR,—I do assure you that it is with the deepest feelings of true grief that I can resign myself to the sad fate of parting with my truest friend, *The Liberator*. When a true friend of liberty and progress, and especially one of my race, looks back thirty-five years into the past, and remembers the circumstances under which *The Liberator* was brought into existence, what its primary object was, and what has been its undeviating course through all these years, he involuntarily sighs when he reads, "*The Liberator* will be discontinued at the end of the present volume."

When I first saw the announcement, some months ago, that it was the intention to discontinue *The Liberator* at the end of the present volume, I hoped that such might not be the case, and continued to hope for a long time that your pioneer sheet might continue the even tenor of its way; if not under the name of *The Liberator*, then under some other, more appropriate, but with the ever proud name of the good old captain and leader, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, floating triumphantly at its head. But I have now painfully learned that I was hoping against stern, inexorable Fate.

I cannot—no, I need not—stop here to discuss the merits of *The Liberator*, for they are household words. WM. LLOYD GARRISON! true friend of Universal Freedom and Equality! may your days be long and pleasant on this earth, and, finally, may you receive your just reward in heaven! This is my sincere prayer. W. W. TATE.

ORANGE, Mass., Aug. 15, 1865.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON,—A suggestion in the letter of Mr. L. N. Fowler, published in last week's *Liberator*, opens the way for me to say what I have long thought of hinting. I find myself all unreconciled to the thought that *The Liberator* is to be discontinued. The *name* is not so important as the thing itself. He suggests *The Liberated* for a new name. I would suggest *The Educator*.

Negro slavery is not dead, body and soul, in the United States. If it were, liberty is not perfected here or elsewhere. Other vital questions beside those of freedom, new and old, are continually arising, occasioning controversy, and it will be so for an indefinite time. When your issue ceases, if it is to cease, where shall we look for anything to *fully* take its place?—anyt' ing equally impartial, broad, thorough, faithful and independent? Should you feel you must withdraw from active labor—I hope it is not so—is there not a son of yours, literal or spiritual, to whom you will bestow your mantle? Could not the continued publication be made to combine more news, if possible, more topics, and admit more advertising, so as to "pay"?

I must still trust that the agency which we recognize in *The Liberator*, in some form, under some name, will continue to aid man in his slow and painful march toward millennial perfection.

Very respectfully and truly, yours, L. HOLMES.

A VALUABLE "DIVINING" GIFT. At this period of universal drought, a good supply of well-water is seen and felt to be of great value, as against all liability to be deprived of it in the future. In every direction, wells are giving out, because not connected with running water. Mr. H. B. Wyman, of Fairmount, in this State, has the gift of using the "divining rod," so as infallibly to determine where an unfailing stream can be reached. During the last three years, he has located wells in various places, with invariable success; and he warrants a copious supply of water in every engagement he undertakes. Letters as to terms, &c., may be addressed to him at Fairmount, Mass. Never was there a more favorable opportunity to put his "divining" power to the severest test than at this dry time. He ought to be constantly employed.

## RECEPTION OF THE FIFTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

The men of the Fifty-Fourth (colored) Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, having been paid off and received their final discharge on Friday, came up from Gallop's Island on Saturday, on board the tug-boats Uncle Sam, Wm. H. Strond and one other, landing at Commercial Wharf at about 9 o'clock. Here they were received by an escort, consisting of the 14th Unattached Company M. V. M. (Shaw Guards,) Capt. Lewis Saul, with Gilmore's full band, Hallowell Union Association, A. Molyneux Hewlett, Marshal, with the Germania Band, all under the direction of J. J. Smith, Chief Marshal. The regiment numbers 750 men, with the following roster of officers present:

*Field and Staff*—Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General, E. N. Hallowell; Lieutenant Colonel, George Pope; Major, James M. Coalton; Surgeon, Charles E. Briggs; Assistant Surgeon, J. B. Treadwell; First Lieutenant and Acting Adjutant, John H. Conant; First Lieutenant and Quartermaster, Peter Voglesang.

*Captains*—Thomas L. Appleton, Chas. E. Tucker, Willard Howard, C. G. Chipman, Garth W. James, Lewis Reed, Robt. R. Newell, Jos. E. Cousens, Chas. F. Joy.

*First Lieutenants*—Thos. Bridgeham, B. B. Edmands, S. A. Swails, Wm. L. Whitney, Jr., Geo. W. Cranch, Frank M. Welch, Wm. McDermott.

*Sergeants Commanding Companies*—Stevens, Co. B; Thompson, Co. E.

Capt. Jas. W. Grace remained at Charleston, S. C., as Acting Chief Ordinance Officer at that post; and 30 men were left sick in hospital.

The column took route as follows: Through Commercial, State, Washington, Franklin, Devonshire, Summer, Winter, Tremont, Park, to the State House, where His Excellency, Gov. Andrew and Staff, with the Executive Council, received the marching salute of the regiment; thence down Beacon, through Joy, Cambridge, West Cedar, Mount Vernon, Willow and Beacon streets, to the Common, where, after a line was formed, the men were put through the manual of arms by Gen. Hallowell. The regiment then formed a square, and the General, calling his officers around him, bade them farewell, referring to the amicable and pleasant relations which had existed between them and himself, thanking them for their kind support, and wishing them success and happiness through life.

Addressing the men of the regiment, Gen. Hallowell said that he wished to bid them good bye. He was much obliged to them for the manner in which they had supported him in many trying times. Whenever a forlorn hope had been called for, the Fifty-fourth had always been ready and prompt to respond. They had taken care of their colors and brought them home again—little there was left of them indeed, but enough to show how bravely they had been defended. His men had proved themselves competent to be good soldiers in the field; now that they had returned, he hoped they would prove themselves equally competent to be good citizens. When they went forth, Massachusetts was the only State which recognized them as citizens. They had forced the whole country now to acknowledge their soldierly qualities, and he hoped that by their good behaviour they would show that they were possessed of all the qualities and entitled to all the privileges of good citizenship. Their blood had enriched the soil of South Carolina, of Georgia, and of Florida; might the sweat of their brows now enrich the soil of Massachusetts; might they show themselves to be men, without respect to their color or former condition. He would bid them again good-bye. He was glad to disband them there, but he was sorry to part with them. Still, he knew they regarded him as their friend, and was sure that wherever he might go, he would find friends among colored soldiers and colored men. The General concluded with a few words of good advice to them to take care of their money, and proceed at once to their homes. There were present on the parade ground, His Honor Mayor Lincoln, Chief of Police Kurtz, Hon. Henry Wilson, and other prominent gentlemen.

After repeated cheers for General Hallowell, the regiment reduced square, and, having executed various other manœuvres, marched down upon the Charles street mall, where a collation had been prepared by Mr. William Tufts, by order of the friends of the regiment. On stacking their arms, the men indulged in loud and continued cheering, amid which the officers rode off, and after the collation had been disposed of, the men were dismissed. The New Bedford company was escorted to the cars by the Shaw Guards, who afterwards proceeded to their armory, and were dismissed for the day.

A most interesting and mournful incident took place as the regiment entered Tremont from Winter street. A beautiful oil painting of the late Lt. Frederick H. Webster, 54th regiment, son of John T. Webster, Esq., of Milk street, which belongs to the forming Gallery of Fallen Heroes, one of Pope's beautiful productions, appeared in the window of Childs & Jenck's store. The costly frame, with a golden eagle on the top, was tastefully shrouded in deep mourning. As the band passed the window, it played a mournful dirge, and the regiment paid the salute in honor of their fallen beloved comrade in arms. Lt. Webster was a young man of talent and education, 21 years old, a good soldier, and much beloved by the officers and men of the regiment, who deeply mourned his early death in the service of his country.

The officers of the Fifty-Fourth will be received on Monday evening next by John Ritchie, Esq., late Quartermaster of the regiment, at his residence in Chester Park.—*Boston Journal*

The Fifty-fourth left Boston on the 28th of May, 1863, and proceeded to Morris Island, where they assisted in making the celebrated charge on Fort Wagner. Col. Shaw led the right wing, and General (then Major) Hallowell the left. They both succeeded in reaching the top of the parapet, while their men dropped on every side. Col. Shaw was killed, while Major Hallowell was severely wounded, and rolled from the top of the fort into the ditch, where he was shot a second time before his men got him off in safety. He was sent home, where for many months he was confined to his bed, scarcely able to move, and suffering the most intense pain. When partially recovered, he returned to his regiment, having been promoted first to Lieut. Colonel and then to Colonel. Soon after Col. Hallowell's taking command of the regiment they were ordered to Florida, where they so distinguished themselves on the field of Olustee. During the battle, the General commanding rode up to Colonel Hallowell, and asked him to "throw his regiment forward, and save our army from fatal destruction," which they did by holding the rebel army in check while our forces withdrew. Since then he has been on duty in Charleston, where the 54th were stationed after the capture of the city; taking part, however, in all the fights and skirmishes in the neighborhood.

Gen. Hallowell belongs to a family which has contributed three of its members to the army, all of whom have distinguished themselves by their bravery and efficiency in the field. At the first call for troops, in April, 1861, he joined a Boston company as private, and performed duty as such until his term expired. He then accepted a position on Gen. Fremont's staff, remaining at the West until that General's removal, when he came East and joined the Massachusetts Twentieth, with which he remained until after Antietam, when he was sent home on sick leave with his brother, and while slowly recovering both were offered commissions in the Fifty-fourth, then about to be recruited, and went to the field again in due time with their respective regiments. From this sketch of his career it will be seen that in promoting Col. Hallowell to be Brevet Brigadier General, the War Department has only bestowed on him well-merited honor; and had his claims as a true soldier and an efficient officer been urged upon the authorities, his promotion would have come long ago.

## NEW METHOD OF EMANCIPATING SLAVES.

Gen. Palmer's order, granting papers to negroes in search of work, was put in force at Paris, Ky., July 20. The *Western Citizen* thus describes the scene:—

"The fact was communicated to the negroes during last week, (by what authority we did not stop to inquire,) that the military authorities at Paris would, on Saturday last, commence issuing free papers to all slaves; which created great commotion among them. And so it proved. On that day numbers came to town, and the headquarters of the commandant of the post was virtually converted into a general emancipation office. Instead of free papers, free passes were issued indiscriminately to all who made application. Sunday intervened, when it was announced in the African church that the good work would commence on Monday morning, and the news spread like 'wild fire' throughout the county. That morning, from daylight until late in the evening, negroes flocked to the place. The roads were literally filled with them, of all ages and sizes, including the lame, the halt, and the blind, in wagons, buggies, on horseback and on foot. By 10 o'clock, there was a perfect jam around headquarters. Guards were stationed at the door, and none but females were admitted, as we understand, during the day. When the day's work was done, it was announced that no more passes would be issued until further orders, which brought tears to many an eye at the failure to obtain a pass. However, on Tuesday the work commenced again, with an indorsement on the pass, 'To go to Cincinnati, Ohio.' The following is a copy of the blank pass:

"HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES FORCES,
PARIS, KY., ——, 1865.

*To whom it may concern:*

In pursuance of general orders No. 49 headquarters department of Kentucky, July 10, 1865, —— ——, (colored,) is authorized to pass at will in search of employment. All public carriers will respect this pass."

The *Citizen* adds, that the whites who need laborers have resolved to employ no negroes having such a pass. Of course, the old slaveholders will do all they can to annoy the blacks and force them into bondage.

## LETTER FROM THE LATE RICHARD COBDEN.

The New York *Citizen* publishes an interesting letter written by Richard Cobden, in May, 1864, to a French gentleman resident in Switzerland. The first part discusses the war in this country with singular acuteness. Mr. Cobden says that nothing is clearer to his mind than that "the North will destroy slavery, ruin the slave owners, and hold possession of the South." After well describing and doing justice to the character of the Southern people, Mr. Cobden continues as follows:

"But nothing can compensate for the disadvantages under which they labor. Nothing can make a community, living like the feudal community of the 13th century, a match for the New England population of the 19th century. The North will ruin the South, not by any one or half-decisive battles, but by its persistence and by the irresistible weight of its resources. And I should not be surprised to see the South collapse very suddenly; for, having no social forces at its back, when once it is fairly beaten in the field, it has nothing to fall back upon. If the North should realize my expectations, it will present itself before the Old World in a new and most formidable attitude, for it will have proved itself as great in war as in peace. It is the only country in the world which, while it is a first class naval power, (for its mercantile tonnage is equal to our own,) can keep 700,000 men in the field. Has your Emperor thought of all this in connection with his Mexican expedition? I confess I saw with amazement as well as regret the course which he took in sending an army to interfere in the internal affairs of that wretched country. It reminded me, in its impolicy, of the expedition of the first Napoleon from Bayonne into Spain.

No human being can restore Mexico to order, or confer on it the blessings of civilized progress. It requires the hand of God himself to effect such a change in that degraded population of half-castes. But does the Emperor know how deeply the public sentiment of the United States is outraged and humiliated by this attempt of a foreign power to set up an empire at their door without consultation with them? How would you Frenchmen like to see the Yankees sending an army to establish a republic in Belgium without consulting you? Seeing the American newspapers regularly, I gather from them that the resentment against you for the Mexican intervention is ready to burst forth the moment the rebellion is in a sure way of defeat. The Americans will have some serious controversies with England, but they are of a nature to keep and to employ the ingenuity of diplomatists. But I look for a peremptory demand from Washington for explanations from the Tuileries, which will lead to war or humiliation. I sincerely wish the Emperor would withdraw every French soldier immediately.

* * * * RICHARD COBDEN.

## SHARP LETTER FROM GOV. BROWNLOW.

W. C. Kain, of Knoxville, who was prominent during the war for barbarous treatment of Union citizens, is now in jail for murder, &c. George T. Curtis, of New York, one of his counsel, wrote to Gov. Brownlow, complaining of the ill treatment of his client, and received the following reply:—

STATE OF TENNESSEE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
NASHVILLE, Aug. 18, 1865.

GEORGE T. CURTIS, Esq., New York:

SIR—Your favor of the 5th inst. is received. Upon some letter or message from one W. C. Kain, a felon in jail at Knoxville, you are shocked by the unnecessary rigor of his confinement, and remark that "the dignity and humanity with which the State shall administer its laws have much to do with its good name." I know nothing of the nature of the report your client may have made to you, but I know the Sheriff of Knox county, to whom your letter should have been addressed, and knew him to be an excellent man, who has rendered gallant service as an officer in our army; and I am confident that any statements of your client, charging the Sheriff with barbarous treatment of prisoners, are untrue. Your client, no doubt, thinks it very hard that he should be confined at all for the conscientious (?) discharge of his duty as an officer, in such insignificant matters as starving and hanging a few Union citizens, whipping others at the stake, or at the cart-wheel, and stripping Union ladies who were passing through the rebel lines of all their clothing except what they had upon their persons, for the heinous offence of thinking the rebellion wrong. In this opinion you may agree with him. I, who do not profess to be so deeply versed in Vattel and Puffendorf, cannot.

I shall endeavor to see that the State vindicates its sovereignty, by administering its laws with dignity and humanity; and while profoundly grateful for the solicitude you manifest for the reputation of Tennessee, I must be allowed to say that, when fully convinced that I, or the subordinate executive officers of the State, need instructions as to the proper discharge of grave official duties devolving upon us, from attorneys residing in other States, of your well-known proclivities, I will give you due notice; but until that time, such gratuitous, patronizing lectures as yours can be regarded in no other light than an unwarrantable impertinence.

Very respectfully, your obed't serv't,
W. G. BROWNLOW,
*Governor of Tennessee.*

## THE BARBARISM OF SLAVERY.

[Correspondence of the Nashville Union.]

TULLAHOMA, TENN., July 12, 1865.

On the night of the 4th of July, two men of Company C, 5th Tennessee Cavalry, with the Captain and two other men of the Home Guards, near Fayetteville, Tennessee, with the cognizance of the Provost Marshal at that post, went out to the plantation of William Bonner, Jr., a returned rebel officer, where, after partaking of a very good supper with himself and wife, and armed with loaded pistols, they went to the negro quarters, and took out a negro, (whom Bonner said had refused to work, and on being told to leave the place, said he would go when he got ready,) about three hundred yards from the house, tied him with his face to a tree, and fastened his hands on the other side with a bridle rein, and with elm switches, two in a bunch, with sprangle, gave him one hundred and fifty lashes, two of the men taking turns in whipping him, cutting his back so deep that a lead pencil could have been laid in the gashes. Your informant has seen the back of the negro, now nine days since the whipping, and he has never seen any one so badly cut up.

It appears that the negro was hired by Bonner, whose contract with him was to leave the compensation to a committee of citizens at the end of the season, and in case of disagreement the matter was to be left to a Union officer. The negro had raised a fine crop of cotton, so that it could be secured by a small amount of labor; and in this, as in many other cases, after the negro has labored hard, and begins to realize and look forward to the day he may reap where he has sown, he is suddenly assaulted by men professing to be loyal citizens, and driven from all hopes of support. This is but one out of the many similar complaints that are daily made to this post.

General Dudley, commanding the forces at this point, has made an open investigation of this infamous transaction, resulting in the removal of Captain Shipp, 5th Tennessee Cavalry, Acting Provost Marshal at Fayetteville, and his arrest for the confinement of privates Harrison and Mullins, Company C, of the same regiment, in the stockade. The last two were engaged in the whipping. Wm. Bonner, Jr., has been arrested and held to bail in the sum of $3,000 for his appearance to answer the charge before a Military Commission.

Parties are out to arrest the other three engaged, all of whom belong to the Home Guard, the principal one a captain in that organization.

## A MAN GIVEN AS FOOD TO THE DOGS.

THE DIABOLISM OF SLAVERY.

We announced, yesterday, that the practical emancipation of the slaves has not been realized yet in Washington parish. A planter, Mr. Jack Bromfield, swears that he will resist emancipation to the last. He says that he paid his money for his slaves,—they belong to him, and he does not care about the laws of the Yankees. Many others—if not all—partake of the same sentiment.

This is only talking. But, unfortunately, we have more serious facts to relate. Two planters of Washington Parish, named Sherd Adams and Dan Warren, tied a black man on a saw-log, and, when so rendered defenceless, set their bloodhounds upon him. These ferocious animals, whose cruelty agrees so well with the planters' character, chewed him up. The victim was then turned loose, more dead than alive. He crawled to some recess, where he must have died of exposure and suffering, as he has not been heard of since. The plantation where this awful act took place is situated near the river Bougchito.

About three or four weeks ago, four of Mr. John Magree's negroes ran away to the Federals. Their names were Tom, George, Rau and Moses. The *master* resolved to pursue them. Messrs. Ben Magee, Henry Bromfield, and another "gentleman" went in pursuit of them. But they did not succeed in catching them. They found, however, at Osyka, six or seven other black men, on whom they charged with sticks and pistols. One of the black men was killed by Henry Bromfield, and another was fatally wounded.

Such is the sad picture of the state of society in that part of the country. Our informant states that the freedmen—or more exactly the slaves—are generally ill-treated in the neighborhood of Osyka. The planters must be made to feel that the war has turned against them. We want an iron-hand, or the laws and power of the United States will be everywhere set at defiance.—*New Orleans Tribune.*

MANSFIELD CAMP MEETING. A camp meeting of colored people commenced at Williams's grove, a short distance east of Mansfield station on Wednesday last week, and closed on the 29th. It included the Zion and African Bethel churches in this city, and churches in Boston, Cambridgeport, and Providence and Cranston, R. I. The meeting was in charge of Rev. Joseph Hicks, of this city, chairman of the committee of arrangements. The attendance of colored people was about 1000, with as many whites, until Sunday, when heavy extra trains and an immense number of carriages increased the crowd to six or seven thousand. The excursion train from New Bedford, Middleborough, and Taunton, numbered twenty cars, all crowded with passengers, and was a quarter of a mile long. It was drawn from Taunton at a good rate of speed by one locomotive, the T. B. Wales.

About thirty preachers were on the ground, including several from Philadelphia and Baltimore, and two from Newbern, present on special invitation. One of the latter, an old gentleman named Isaac, was a slave preacher for many years. He bought his freedom for $3,000, and paid up a year before the rebellion broke out. He is now sorry he did not keep his money, as he would have been freed by the President's proclamation.

The exercises of the camp meeting were similar to those at other camp meetings. Of course, African idioms and eccentricities appear, and the colored people are more given to shouting and extravagant gesture than whites. The principal effect of the meeting has been to reawaken backsliders and lukewarm professors of religion, though but few new conversions have taken place. The singing was particularly fine, as it always is when a large number of colored singers get together. In these seasons of high religious enjoyment, their peculiar wailing minor tunes, which no one else ever learned to sing, and which are the natural music resulting from centuries of slavery, are chanted with a fervor and ecstasy that really give them a joyful character.

Most perfect order was maintained on the ground. —*New Bedford Standard.*

COLORPHOBIA IN WASHINGTON. Congress last year passed a law, containing a special provision that the municipal authorities of Washington shall set apart from the school fund such a proportionate part thereof as the colored children between the ages of six and seventeen years bear to the whole number of children. Considering that for years the free colored people had been taxed for school purposes, without being allowed to receive any fair equivalent therefor, in any way, the measure was regarded by the country as an act of simple justice. But the City Council of Washington, incredible as it may seem, resorted to the pitiful expedient of abolishing the school fund entirely, and supported the white schools out of the general proceeds of taxes, without having any special fund. In this way the black children are, for the time being, cheated out of their schools. But this poor juggle will be short-lived. If its authors do not retrace their steps before Congress shall have another opportunity to act, the upshot of the matter may be easily conjectured. Referring to this affair, the Washington *Chronicle* says:—

"We are strongly inclined to suspect that they forgot, in the midst of their glee, that Congress possesses the legal, constitutional power to make *voters* of colored men in the District. They *must* have left out of their calculations the fact that Congress would, naturally indignant at this piece of petty chicanery, be very strongly induced to put the power of righting their own wrongs in the hands of the colored men themselves, by giving them a right to a voice in the election of the men who make a tax levy, as well as to assign its proportions to different interests. If a stronger argument could be brought to the attention of the next Congress for granting the right of suffrage to the blacks of this District than the true history of this little transaction affords, we wish some one would call our attention to it."

POLITICAL. In Kentucky, Garrard's (pro slavery) majority for State Treasurer is 158. Last fall McClellan's majority was about 37,000. The House will stand, Opposition, 58; Union, 42. The Senate, Opposition, 18; Union, 18. It is said that Lieutenant-Governor Jacobs favors the amendment. If so, his casting vote will carry it in the Senate.

Gen. Logan, the especial friend of the late Stephen A. Douglas, made a speech in Morgan county, Illinois, a few days ago, in which he said that the reconstruction policy of the present Administration was but an experiment, and he was willing to indorse it as long as there was any hope of its success. He confessed, however, that he did not like this wholesale system of pardoning rebels. He was opposed to the restoration of the rights of citizenship until the rebels had brought forth fruits meet for repentance. He cautioned his auditory in the most pungent terms to avoid companionship or fraternization with any person or party who had sympathized with rebellion or its aiders and abettors.

Ex-Gov. Tod of Ohio recently declared in a speech that the Democratic party of Ohio could not be trusted. If it was in power, the national debt would be in danger of repudiation, unless linked with the rebel debt, national securities would decline, and justice would not be done the soldier or the soldiers' wives and widows; consequently it was the duty of every patriot to stand by the Union party.

NEGRO TESTIMONY IN ALABAMA. Provisional Governor Parsons, of Alabama, has issued a circular to the judges and magistrates of the State, urging them to conform to the exigencies of the times, and receive negro testimony in their courts, as the less of two evils. He tells them that the law of Congress, establishing the Freedmen's Bureau, requires the Commissioners of the Bureau in the various States to adjudicate in all cases where the rights of the freedmen were concerned, if the local courts refuse to do them justice as freemen, or reject their testimony in difficulties between themselves or between them and whites. Therefore, unless they acquiesce, and receive the testimony of negroes in their courts, where the habits and character of the negro are best understood, martial law will be substituted, and military courts will be established to adjudicate between the whites and negroes. Any evident denial of justice will result in the same way. The Governor reminds them that it will be much better to have the laws administered by the citizens of the State than by strangers.

NEW YORK, Sept. 2. The *Herald's* Washington despatch says reports to the Freedman's Bureau from North Carolina state that the number of blacks and whites supported by the Government in that State have been greatly reduced, now amounting to only ten thousand. The freedmen are making full crops on the government farms. The offenders, in cases of cruelty to negroes, have been arrested, and are awaiting trial.

In some cases the blacks are treated in a spirit of fairness, but more frequently they are abused and oppressed to a shameful degree. The right to punish them is still claimed by their employers, and a few assert that they will either have the blacks as slaves, or exterminate the whole race. The actions of the blacks, in a great number of instances, are equally unfortunate and fitful. Some are determined to be dependents, and idly roam about, refusing steady employment, being so filled with suspicion that they will assent to no contracts.

From East Tennessee it is reported that not more than 100 negroes are supplied by the government. Freedmen's schools are flourishing, and in Greenville, President Johnson's home, the negroes have contributed $60 a month for teachers.

FENIAN TROUBLES IN MISSOURI. Last week, according to a correspondent of the *Tribune*, the Deputy Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood of Missouri died at St. Paul. His body had been brought to St. Louis, and a service and oration advertised to take place at St. Patrick's Church. Archbishop Kenrick thereupon issued a bull, prohibiting the use of St. Patrick's Church for the delivery of an oration or other religious ceremony to take place on that occasion. He also directed the Superintendent of the (Catholic) Calvary Cemetery not to admit any procession of men or women bearing the insignia of Fenianism within the gate of the cemetery. Not satisfied with this, Archbishop Kenrick has further informed the Roman Catholics of St. Louis that the members of the Fenian Brotherhood are not admissable to the sacraments of the church so long as they are united with that association, which, he says, he has always regarded as immoral in its object, the inciting of rebellion in Ireland, and a quasi military organization, to be made effective in case of a war with England. This declaration against the Fenians has roused the same indignation among the St. Louis Catholic Fenians as elsewhere.

THEODORE PARKER. There has just been published at Paris, in one volume, 12mo, pp. 330, "Theodore Parker, sa Vie et ses Œuvres; un Chapitre de l'Histoire de Abolition de l'Enslavage aux Etat Unis" (Theodore Parker, his Life and Works; a Chapter in the History of the Abolition of Slavery in the United States), by Monsieur Albert Réville, author of "Etudes Critiques sur le l'Evangile selon S. Matthieu." The author says very little about Abolition, and Mr. Parker's connection therewith, but states the leading details of Mr. Parker's life, and estimates very keenly and appreciatively his character as a man, a preacher, and a writer. He gives him credit more for energy than for good taste, and while noticing his want of orthodoxy, admits that his intentions were always good. It is evident that Mr. Parker's labors are highly estimated abroad. The London edition of his works, in twelve volumes, compiled by Miss Cobbe, is now completed.—*American Literary Gazette.*

A STRANGE VOICE FROM VIRGINIA. The Norfolk *Post* has the following complimentary notice of Senator Sumner:

Mr. Sumner is now the acknowledged leader of the Senate, and he will wield a powerful influence in deciding the destinies of the South the coming winter at Washington. It is a fact that must not be lost sight of, that Mr. Sumner's voice is a controlling power in Congress, and that it was his great influence which kept the representatives from Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas out of the House, and their senators, as also the senator from Virginia, out of the Senate, when they applied for admission at the last session. He was not satisfied with the manner of election, and the loyalty of the States they represented, mainly because the negroes did not vote; and the door was closed upon them.

The *Post* copies several extracts from Mr. Sumner's speeches, and adds:

Thus we have the principles of the leader and ablest debater in the Senate—and they are opposed to an oligarchy of *skin*. In other words, he favors negro suffrage. The South must therefore be prepared to encounter his determined opposition to the admission of her representatives and senators, and he is sustained, we believe, by a majority in Congress.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA FREEDMEN. A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* writes as follows:

The planters have generally retained their slaves, and are making contracts with them as rapidly as possible, and generally sharing the crops with them. In all that part of the State crossed by the two armies, both blacks and whites have had to work together to avert starvation, and in many cases the crops have been put in and cultivated with the hoe alone, all stock having been taken out of the country. Of all the seaboard States, up to this time, the affairs of the freedmen have been in the most promising condition in South Carolina.

☞ Concerning the facility with which the colored race acquire the rudiments of an education, the Indiana *Journal* says:—

"We hear it stated by those who have an acquaintance with negro regiments, that almost all the soldiers have learned to read and write; that on the first pay day, about all made their marks, but within a year, about all signed their names. All well-conducted negro regiments have, as a part of their discipline, exercises in spelling, reading and writing, so that the army has become to them, in fact, a school."

☞ The total number of freedmen in the District of Columbia, in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau, on the 31st of August, was, according to the report of Surgeon Robert Reyburn, (Surgeon in charge of that District,) just made to the Bureau, 25,772, of which number 772 are receiving medical treatment. Surgeon Reyburn's report shows that but 519 are receiving rations from the government, without rendering an equivalent. The number of freedmen thus given is much larger than was anticipated.

The colonies of freedmen working the land assigned them at Davis Bend, Camp Hawley, near Vicksburg; De Soto Point, opposite; and at Washington, near Natchez, are all doing well; their crops are maturing fast. As harvest time approaches the number of rations issued are reduced, and they are compelled to rely on their own resources. At least ten thousand bales of cotton will be raised by these people who are raising crops on their own account. The number of idle people around them is constantly declining, as labor is abundant, and good prices are offered for all kinds of work. The amount of rations issued to whites is about the same as issued to freedmen. Not less than 5,000 people are cutting wood for steamers on the Mississippi River, and more people are engaged in this business than ever, but they support themselves. The total number of freedmen in the State is estimated at 346,000, of whom only 3,000 are receiving assistance from Government.

DEPRECIATION OF CONFEDERATE CURRENCY. A Southern paper publishes a table of the prices of the Confederate currency in Augusta, Ga., at various times from the beginning to the close of the war. The record was kept by a broker doing business in that city, and shows that on January 1, 1861, the premium on a gold dollar was 5; on December 15, same year, it was 30; on June 1, 1862, it was 95; on June 1, 1863, it was 650; on June 1, 1864, it was 1800; on April 20, 1865, it was $100 in Confederate notes for $1 in gold; and on May 1 of the same year, the premium was $1200 for one gold dollar.

RALEIGH, N. C., Sept 1. Judge Carter, who has returned from an extensive trip through the Southern States, says that cruelty to freedmen, and numbers of homicides among them by the whites, are increasing to a fearful extent, especially in places where the troops are being withdrawn.

The Judge has a copy of the *Southern Sun*, which says if the Yankees are alarmed at the killing of a few hundred negroes a day in States where they have the protection of Yankee troops, a certain extent, what will be their alarm after the departure of the military forces and readmission into the Union of these States as sovereign powers, and will then have a complete organization of militia in each county, which will give the South a standing army which will bid defiance to the world.

MURDER OF LOYAL NEGROES. Two negroes, Alfred and his wife Clara, who were living with their former master, John Baker, Esq., near Fauquier county, Va., were killed, it is said, by the notorious Dick Carter, about two o'clock last Sunday morning. The negroes, it is said, had given information concerning his whereabouts to the government troops some time since, and he killed them to prevent being again informed upon.—*Alexandria Gazette.*

☞ A despatch dated Augusta, Ga., Aug. 31, says, "Three fast men, of the best families, called out Captain Hensley, 33d U. S. colored troops, and brutally murdered him. A commission has been organized to-day to try them. Gen. Grosvenor, who was to have gone North by special train to-morrow, is retained, by order of Major-Gen. Steadman, to direct the prosecution."

SINGULAR EXERCISE OF POWER BY GOV. PERRY OF SOUTH CAROLINA. The Charleston (S. C.) *Courier* says the following extract is from a letter addressed by Gov. Perry to a prominent citizen of Charleston:

"If you take the oath (*of amnesty*) and apply for a pardon, it is to be presumed, after the approval by me, that it is granted, and you are entitled to vote or serve in the convention, although your pardon may not have been returned or received by you."

If Gov. Perry has not the sanction of President Johnson for this course, his proceeding is certainly extraordinary—nothing less than an usurpation of the pardoning power.

FATAL ACCIDENT TO A BOSTON LADY. *North Conway, N. H., Sept.* 1. A very sad and distressing accident occurred this morning at this place, resulting in the almost instant death of Miss Fanny McGregor of Boston.

The painful circumstances are briefly as follows: A party of several ladies and gentlemen were practising pistol-firing at a target, when the pistol in the hands of Mr. Henry C. Mayer was accidentally discharged, the charge passing through the young lady's head, and killing her. She cried, Oh, God! and fell a corpse. Her remains are to be sent home this evening.

The excitement consequent upon this most agonizing accident cannot be described.

Mr. Mayer is overwhelmed with sorrow.

Miss McGregor was a young and lovely girl, much beloved by her associates and a large circle of friends. Her death will create a wide-spread grief, as much for her rare personal merits as for the sudden and afflicting circumstances under which she was deprived of life.

Miss McGregor was a daughter of James McGregor, Esq., President of the State Bank in Boston.—*Despatch to Post.*

"DEATH ON THE TRACK." The New York *Herald* prints a complete list of the railroad accidents attended by loss of life or injury to person that have occurred in the United States since the commencement of the year. In not quite eight months, there have been *one hundred and twenty eight casualties, by which two hundred and sixty six persons have been killed, and eleven hundred and nine wounded.* This is only the number of killed and wounded recorded at the time of the accident, or who died very shortly after. Of course, many of the wounded were but slightly injured, but how many died after weeks or months of suffering from wounds received, we shall probably never know.

☞ Many at the South, in their flurry, think of emigrating to Brazil, where they can enjoy the luxury of slavery. The Richmond *Times* says: "Let no man stake his prospects of fortune, success and happiness upon the continuance of slavery. Recent events have demonstrated that the institution is doomed. The resistless cry for emancipation has now been raised by nearly all Christendom; and England, France, Russia and the United States have all succumbed before it. Spain and Brazil will not be able to stand this pressure long."

GEN. LEE A COLLEGE PRESIDENT. The Richmond *Whig* announces that Gen. Lee has consented to accept the Presidency of Washington College.

☞ The Plymouth *Memorial* records the death of Branch Pierce, the well-known hunter of Plymouth Woods. He was quite a remarkable character. Daniel Webster was an annual visitor to his cabin, and used to join "Uncle Branch" in his hunting excursions. He owned at the time of his death the same gun which he bought in Boston in 1815, and with which he had killed in Plymouth Woods two hundred and sixty-seven deer. He made an eighteen miles walk a day a common custom up to last summer, although nearly eighty years old. He built his own cabin and boats, and supported himself entirely by killing game and catching fish.

☞ Mrs. Keitt, widow of Col. Keitt, who was concerned in the Brooks outrage, and a sort of bottle-holder, is said to be reduced to poverty, though her family was wealthy before the war. The Colonel was killed during the contest. His plantation is now in the hands of his slaves, who make a good thing of it. Thus the world changes. How Brooks would stare, could he return to this world, and see the difference there is between 1856 and 1865!—*Traveller.*

☞ The Pennsylvania Democratic State Convention declared the effort to confer the suffrage on colored soldiers to be "a deliberate and wicked attempt to degrade the white race to the level of the black." Would it not have been more correct to say that it was "a deliberate and benevolent attempt to elevate the black race to the level of the white"? If the power to vote is so good a thing for the white man, why should n't it prove as useful to the black man? If it is elevating in the case of foreigners who come to this country, why should it not help in the elevation of dark-skinned Americans, who are descended, in many instances, from men and women who were in the land long before white-skinned men lived in Pennsylvania?—*Ibid.*

☞ The New Jersey Democratic State Convention passed a resolution that the public debt is "onerous and improper." This is the first step towards the open advocacy of repudiation. If there is any dirty and unpatriotic work to be done, New Jersey Democrats will be sure to "dive deeper and come up nastier" than any body else.—*Salem Observer.*

COOL. A Richmond paper has the assurance already to urge upon the President a modification of his Cabinet, because some of the members are too radical. Perhaps it would like to have him find a place in it for Benjamin, Mallory, Trenholm & Co., who are just now out of business, and who are almost as "conservative" as the Ohio Democratic Convention.—*Providence Journal.*

☞ The *Tribune's* Brownsville (Texas) correspondence of the 12th ult. says:—"The line of the Rio Grande is growing dark with troops, and Gen. Steele is said to be getting things in order. I will only give these two facts, and you can draw an inference.

"Owing to bad weather, want of vegetables, and the heat, the mortality among the negro troops is serious. It is from 15 to 20 per cent. The clothing for the men, too, is not suited to the climate. The men die mostly of fever, though some die of scurvy."

A CASE WORTHY OF SYMPATHY. We call the particular attention of our readers to a notice, published in another column, by Mr. Wm. Ambrose. A man in search of his mother, sister and brother, after ten years of separation by the cruel effect of slavery, just think of it—looking for them in order to confer upon them the blessings and abundance which he has accumulated in the section of the country where a man can reap the fruits of his labor. It is one of the instances which now so often sadden the heart amidst the jubilations brought forth by the act of emancipation.—*New Orleans Tribune.*

☞ The Dick Taylor plantation, worked by Freedmen, is in the most flourishing condition. We have been favored with a sample of their cotton, which is as fine as any in the State, with strong though flexible fibres. The prospect of the crop is splendid.—*New Orleans Tribune.*

☞ Robert Ould has been visiting President Johnson, at the White House. He would have been glad to have Mr. Johnson visit him a year or two ago, at the Black Hole called Libby Prison.

PROGRESS OF IDEAS. The young king of Portugal announces that his government will soon introduce measures for the abolition of slavery in the Portuguese colonies.

DEATH OF COMMODORE LONG. Intelligence has been received of the death of Commodore John Collings Long, of the United States Navy. He died suddenly at North Conway, on the 2d inst., while absent from his home on an excursion to the White Mountains.

FIRE IN A CEMETERY. A singular incident occurred in England recently. The catacomb vaults on the west side of Kensal Green Cemetery were found on fire. Five coffins were destroyed, and a great many seriously burnt. The origin of the fire was unknown. It is in this cemetery that Hood, Leech, Thackeray and other eminent men lie interred.

☞ The number of battles fought during the war was 252. Of these the soil of Virginia drank the blood of 89, Tennessee witnessed 37, Missouri 25, Georgia 12, South Carolina 10, North Carolina 11, Alabama 7, Florida 5, Kentucky 14, the Indian Territory and New Mexico 1 each. Once the wave of war rolled to a Northern State, and broke in the great billow of Gettysburg. Of the battles enumerated, 26 were naval achievements.

☞ Half a million dollars' worth of books was consumed at the burning of a London auctioneer's establishment, lately, among which was a part of the library of Baron Humboldt.

☞ The loss of the telegraphic cable is estimated at nearly a million and a half of dollars.

☞ Forty thousand visitors at Saratoga this season—more than ever before. In a single morning last week, nine thousand glasses of water were dipped from Congress Spring alone.

☞ The Charleston correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser* says that a planter was lately overheard scolding a negro for laziness. "You lazy nigger," said he, "I am losing a whole day's labor by you!" "Massa," retorted the negro, "how many days' labor have I lost by you?" The planter considered the subject exhausted.

☞ A Lexington (Ky.) dispatch of the 26th says that Garrard, the pro-slavery candidate for State Treasurer, is elected by about two hundred majority. He has died since the election.

Daniel Webster, a son of Col. Fletcher Webster, and grandson of the great Daniel Webster, died at Marshfield on Saturday, aged 25 years.

☞ The great "Homestead" well, at Pithole Creek, has ceased to flow, though it recently yielded 500 barrels per day. The Philadelphia *Herald* wickedly says:—

It was the well in which Wilkes Booth owned a thirtieth interest, and it is barely possible that he tapped it at the lower end.

☞ The city of Fernandina, Florida, claims the honor of being the first place in the South in which negroes have experienced the right of suffrage. The loyalists and the negroes recently elected a Union Mayor.

☞ New Orleans is now the cleanest city in America, and there is said to be no more danger of yellow fever there than on the top of Mount Blanc. Very great are the Yankees; they can put down rebellion with the musket and the bayonet, and pestilence with the broom, hoe and shovel.—*St. Louis Dem.*

COLORED SOLDIERS ROBBED. It is said that a large number of the members of the 54th regiment have been relieved of their money by thieves, who got them drunk. The men had an average of $350 each, and the regiment somewhere about $200,000, a large part of which is already in active circulation.

☞ The colored veterans of the 54th regiment belonging in New Bedford, 22 in number, were handsomely received home by the citizens of that city on Saturday evening. They were welcomed at the depot and escorted to the City Hall, where the Rev. Henry F. Harrington presided over a public meeting, made a fine address, and was followed by James B. Congdon, Esq., in similar remarks.

☞ The commandant of the post at Paducah, Ky., recently issued an order for the release of certain negroes incarcerated in the city prison for violation of the municipal law. Thereupon the municipal authorities at once ordered the release of all white prisoners, and informed the Governor of their action.

☞ A letter from Meriden, Miss., says, in allusion to the effects of the war, that fully one-half of the adult males were sacrificed in the bloody contest, while thousands of others are maimed for life, or are gradually dying of disease contracted in the service.

The

# Poetry.

For the Liberator.

## OUR LIFE-WORK.

Do thy life-work, calmly, bravely—
Ever trusting, press thou on;
Never let its toils oppress thee—
Rest at last will sure be won.

Do thy work—'tis thine, thine only—
It will lead thee up to heaven;
'Tis the work which the good Father
Unto thee, his child, has given.

Never leave unto another
That which thine own hands should do;
Where the voice of Duty calls thee,
Follow, with brave heart and true.

Does the way seem rough before thee?
'Twas the earth-path Jesus trod;
Shrinking never from its trials—
Doing still the will of God.

Think how calmly, and how meekly,
He, thy Brother, bore the cross;
Counting every worldly treasure,—
If 'twere gained by falsehood,—loss.

Think, when dark clouds lower around thee,
Thorny paths were his to tread;
And the heaviest of earth's sorrows
Fell upon his sinless head.

Shall we, then, e'er shrink and falter,
Doubting still, with faith so weak,
When the blessed truths he uttered,
From the record still do speak?

Full of hope to cheer the doubting,
Full of strength to aid the weak—
Words to heal the broken-hearted—
Full of promise to the meek.

If we would His footsteps follow,
He has told us of the way;
Pointed out the path unerring,
Lighted ever by Truth's ray.

Love and patience for the erring,
Pity for earth's lowliest child;
Gentle words, and deeds of mercy,
Soothing every passion wild.

Faith unfaltering, trusting ever
In our Father's promise sure;
Knowing that, through all life's changes,
This forever will endure.

Brooklyn, N. Y. CARRIE.

## AN UNPUBLISHED POEM.

BY WILFRID WYLLEYS.

Already, now, a long and motley train
Of bondmen, freed from Slavery's heavy chain,
Before my gaze with humble aspect stands—
"Food for these mouths, and labor for these hands;
A part in life's eternal strife to bear;
Truth for these souls, and garments, too, to wear.
We've crossed the line—our hearts are strong and brave;
Henceforth we're *men*—let no man call us *slaves!*
All that we ask is liberty to toil—
Bread for our labor—let the niggard soil
Be ne'er so rugged, yet the hardy task
Be ours to conquer; all we care to ask
Is, that our limbs, our wives, our children be
Not chattels made, but as God made them—FREE!
With room to work, and wages for our pains;
And soon you'll hear, from all the blooming plains,
Our songs of joy up to the heavens ascend,
From harvest labors to the poor man's friend.
And senates then, as 'gainst man's direst foes,
Will not again their hellish laws oppose
Gainst Afric's sons; but all mankind indeed,
Joint heirs of labor, worthy common meed,
Will hail us then, and o'er the distant waves
Proudly proclaim—'*Our country knows no slaves.*'"
This the fair picture fancy brings to view,
As now I mark yon strange and motley crew
Pass o'er the way, beneath yon guarded light—
*Slaves* yester e'en, but *freemen* at midnight.
Yet may our hopes—our noblest hopes—be crossed,
And Afric's freedom be forever lost;
And base-born chiefs, who rule the traitor crowd,
Strong by intrigue, in foul-mouthed treason proud,
Call up each horde, array each hostile clan,
Crush freedom out, and on the rights of man
Call down black doom, and unrestrained wave
Their iron bonds o'er each remanded slave
And dark-browed freeman; strong in hell-born might,
Call Slavery's roll on Bunker's sacred height!

## TO THE OPPRESSOR.

BY ELIZA A. PITTSINGER.

His skin was dark, his soul was white!
His faith was equal in its hold
On things that claim diviner light,
To those of fortune's smoother mold.

His soul was white, his face was dark!
Examine, while we sing, your own;
And tell us if that image-spark
To Freedom's measure yet hath grown?

His soul was white—no thanks to you!
For all his hopes you sought a grave!
How changed the scene! for now we view
Within its depths a *real slave.*

*A slave, by fair Creation planned,*
*Who sought the ruin of a race!*
And for that seeking now you stand
The foulest blot upon its face.

You sought to form a lasting link,
Aspiring manhood to enchain;
And for that seeking, on the brink
Of mercy now you plead in vain.

You could not, in your darkness, see
That cluster round you many woes,
The workings of that destiny
By which *you fell,* and *he arose!*

—*American Flag.*

## TWILIGHT.

September's slender crescent grows again
Distin in yonder peaceful evening-red;
Clearer the stars are sparkling overhead,
And all the sky is pure, without a stain.

Cool blows the evening wind from out the west,
And bows the flowers, the last sweet flowers that bloom—
Pale asters, many a heavy waving plume
Of golden-rod, that bends as if opprest.

The summer's songs are hushed. Up the lone shore
The weary waves wash sadly, and a grief
Sounds in the wind, like farewells fond and brief:
The cricket's chirp but makes the silence more.

Life's autumn comes; the leaves begin to fall;
The moods of spring and summer pass away;
The glory and the rapture, day by day,
Depart, and soon the quiet grave folds all.

O thoughtful sky, how many eyes in vain
Are lifted to your beauty, full of tears!
How many hearts go back through all the years,
Heavy with loss, eager with questioning pain.

To read the dim Hereafter to obtain
One glimpse beyond the earthly curtain, where
Their dearest dwell, where they may be—or e'er
September's slender crescent shines again!

—*September Atlantic Monthly.*

## EPITAPH ON THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

Gentle stranger, drop a tear—
The C. S. A. lies buried here;
In youth it lived and prospered well,
But, like Lucifer it fell.
Its body here, its soul in—well,
E'en if I knew I wouldn't tell.
Rest, C. S. A., from every strife—
Your death is better than your life;
And this one line shall grace your grave,
"My death gave Freedom to the Slave."

# The Liberator.

## ADDRESS

*From the Colored Citizens of Norfolk, Va., to the People of the United States.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The undersigned have been appointed a Committee, by a public meeting of the colored citizens of Norfolk, held June 5th, 1865, in the Catharine Street Baptist Church, Norfolk, Va., to lay before you a few considerations touching the present position of the colored population of the Southern States generally, and with reference to their claim for equal suffrage in particular.

We do not come before the people of the United States asking an impossibility; we simply ask that a Christian and enlightened people shall, at once, concede to us the full enjoyment of those privileges of full citizenship which not only are our undoubted right, but are indispensable to that elevation and prosperity of our people which must be the desire of every patriot.

The legal recognition of these rights of the free colored population, in the past, by State legislation, or even by the Judiciary and Congress of the United States, was, as a matter of course, wholly inconsistent with the existence of slavery; but now, that slavery has been crushed, with the rebellion, sprung from it, on what pretext can disabilities be perpetuated that were imposed only to protect an institution which has now, thank God! passed away forever? It is a common assertion, by our enemies, that "this is the white man's country, settled by white men, its government established by white men, and shall therefore be ruled by white men only." How far are these statements true, and the conclusion reasonable? Every schoolboy knows that within twelve years of the foundation of the first settlement at Jamestown, our fathers as well as yours were toiling on the plantations on James River, for the sustenance and prosperity of the infant colony. Since then, in New England, New York, and the Middle Atlantic States, our race has borne its part in the development of even the free North, while, throughout the sunny South, the millions upon millions of acres, in its countless plantations, laden with precious crops, bear witness to the unrequited industry of our people. Even our enemies and old oppressors, themselves, used to admit, nay, contend for, the urgent necessity of our presence and labor to the national prosperity; for whenever slavery was to be defended, they were always ready to prove that the negro must be the laborer in the South, because a white man's constitution could not withstand the climate.

Again, is it true that this government owes its existence entirely to white men? Why, the first blood shed in the revolutionary war was that of a colored man, Crispus Attucks; while in every engraving of Washington's famous passage of the Delaware is to be seen, as a prominent feature, the woolly head and the dusky face of a colored soldier, Prince Whipple; and let the history of those days tell of the numerous but abortive efforts made by a vindictive enemy to incite insurrection among the colored people of the country, and how faithfully they adhered to that country's cause. Who has forgotten Andrew Jackson's famous appeal to the colored "citizens" of Louisiana, and their enthusiastic response, in defence of liberty for others, which was denied themselves? Then did the peaceful stability of the government of the United States, during the (to all but the colored race) happy years that preceded the late rebellion, owe nothing for its continuance to the colored people? Fellow-citizens, was not the maintenance of that peace and order, and thereby of your prosperity, wholly owing to the submissive patience with which our race endured the galling slavery of which they were the victims, in the faith and assurance that God would yet work out their deliverance? Then what has been the behavior of our people during the past struggle? Have we in any way embarrassed the government by unnecessary outbreaks on the one hand, or thwarted it by remissness or slackness in response to its calls for volunteers on the other? Let the fact that, in the short space of nine months, from what was called the contraband camp, at Hampton, near Fortress Monroe, and from other parts of this State alone, over *twenty-five thousand* colored men have become soldiers in the army of the United States, attest our devotion to our country. Over 200,000 colored men have taken up arms on behalf of the Union; and at Port Hudson, Olustee, Milliken's Bend, Fort Wagner, and in the death-haunted craters of the Petersburg mine, and on a hundred well-fought fields, have fully proved their patriotism, and possession of all the manly qualities that adorn the soldier.

Such, as every one knows, have been the relations and attitude of the colored people to the nation in the past; but we believe our present position is by no means so well understood among the loyal masses of the country, otherwise there would be no delay in granting us the express relief which the nature of the case demands. It must not be forgotten that it is the general assumption, in the South, that the effects of the immortal Proclamation of President Lincoln go no further than the emancipation of the negroes then in slavery, and that it is only constructively even, that that Proclamation can be said, in any legal sense, to have abolished slavery; and even the late Constitutional amendment, if duly ratified, can go no further; neither touch, nor can touch, the slave codes of the various Southern States, and the laws respecting free people of color consequent therefrom, which, having been passed before the act of secession, are presumed to have lost none of their vitality, but exist, as a convenient engine for our oppression, until repealed by special acts of the State legislatures. By these laws, in many of the Southern States, it is still a crime for colored men to learn or be taught to read, and their children are doomed to ignorance; there is no provision for insuring the legality of our marriages; we have no right to hold real estate; the public streets and the exercise of our ordinary occupations are forbidden us, unless we can produce passes from our employers, or licenses from certain officials; in some States the whole free negro population is legally liable to exile from the place of its birth, for no crime but that of color; we have no means of legally making or enforcing contracts of any description; we have no right to testify before the courts in any case in which a white man is one of the parties to the suits; we are taxed without representation; and, in short, so far as legal safeguards of our rights are concerned, we are defenceless before our enemies. While this is our position as regards our legal status, before the State laws, we are still more unfortunately situated as regards our late masters. The people of the North, owing to the greater interest excited by the war, have heard little or nothing, for the past four years, of the blasphemous and horrible theories formerly propounded for the defence and glorification of human slavery, in the press, the pulpit and legislatures of the Southern States; but, though they may have forgotten them, let them be assured that these doctrines have by no means faded from the minds of the people of the South; they cling to these delusions still, and only hug them the closer for their recent defeat. Worse than all, they have returned to their homes, with all their old pride and contempt for the negro transformed into bitter hate for the new-made freeman, who aspires to the exercise of his new-found rights, and who has been fighting for the suppression of their rebellion. That this charge is not unfounded, the manner in which it has been recently attempted to enforce the laws above referred to proves. In Richmond, during the three days' sway of the rebel Mayor Mayo, over 800 colored people were arrested, simply for walking the streets without a pass; in the neighboring city of Portsmouth, a Mayor has just been elected, on the avowed platform that this is a white man's government; and our enemies have been heard to boast openly that soon not a colored man shall be left in the city; in the greater number of counties in this State, county meetings have been held, at which resolutions have been adopted, *deploring* while accepting the abolition of slavery, but going on to pledge the planters composing the meeting to employ no negroes save such as were formerly owned by themselves, without a written recommendation from their late employers, and threatening violence to those who should do so, thereby keeping us in a state of serfdom, and preventing our free selection of our employers. They have also pledged themselves, in no event, to pay their late adult slaves more than $60 per year for their labor, in the future, out of which, with characteristic generosity, they have decided that we are to find clothes for ourselves and families, and pay our taxes and doctors' bills. In many of the more remote districts, individual planters are to be found who still refuse to recognize their negroes as free, forcibly retaining the wives and children of their late escaped slaves; cases have occurred, not far from Richmond itself, in which an attempt to leave the plantation has been punished by shooting to death; and finally, there are numbers of cases, known to ourselves, in the immediate vicinity of this city, in which a faithful performance, by colored men, of the duties or labor contracted for, has been met by a contemptuous and violent refusal of the stipulated compensation. These are facts; and yet the men doing these things are, in many cases, loud in their professions of attachment to the restored Union, while committing these outrages on the most faithful friends that Union can ever have. Even well known Union men have often been found among our oppressors; witness the action of the Tennessee Legislature in imposing unheard of disabilities upon us, taking away from us, and giving to the county courts the right of disposing of our children, by apprenticing them to such occupations as the court, not their parents, may see fit to adopt for them; and in this very city, and under the protection of military law, some of our white friends who have nobly distinguished themselves by their efforts in our behalf, have been threatened with arrest by a Union Mayor of this city, for their advocacy of the cause of freedom.

Fellow-citizens, the performance of a simple act of justice on your part will reverse all this. We ask for no expensive aid from military forces, stationed throughout the South, overbearing State action, and rendering our government republican only in name; give us the suffrage, and you may rely upon us to secure justice for ourselves and all Union men, and to keep the State forever in the Union.

While we urge you to this act of simple justice to ourselves, there are many reasons why you should concede us this right in your own interest. It cannot be that you contemplate with satisfaction a prolonged military occupation of the Southern States; and yet, without the existence of a larger loyal constituency than, at present, exists in these States, a military occupation will be absolutely necessary, to protect the white Union men of the South, as well as ourselves, and if not absolutely to keep the States in the Union, it will be necessary to prevent treasonable legislation. Even as we write, the news comes, that, acting under the advice of Governor Pierpont, the legislature of this State has restored to thousands of white voters, who were recently in arms against the national authority, the right of franchise of which they were deprived for their crime of treason, by the Constitution under which that legislature sits; and it is now proposed to call a Convention for the repeal of those sections of the new Constitution forbidding the assumption of any portion of the rebel State debt; and at the municipal election which took place in Norfolk on the 24th inst., a Mayor and Council supposed to favor the payment of more than $100,000 of bonds issued by the City Council during the rebel occupation, for the payment of the expenses of rebel enlistment and the support of the families of rebel soldiers, was elected by a large majority over a loyal ticket opposed to such assumption of rebel debt. Ask yourselves if it is reasonable to expect that senators and representatives from Southern constituencies, lately in unanimous rebellion, will be willing to vote taxes required to pay the interest on the debt incurred in crushing that rebellion.

You have not unreasonably complained of the operation of that clause of the Constitution which has hitherto permitted the slavocracy of the South to wield the political influence which would be represented by a white population equal to three-fifths of the whole negro population; but slavery is now abolished, and henceforth the representation will be in proportion to the enumeration of the whole population of the South, *including people of color;* and it is worth your consideration if it is desirable or politic that the fomenters of this rebellion against the Union, which has been crushed at the expense of so much blood and treasure, should find themselves, after defeat, more powerful than ever, their political influence enhanced by the additional voting power of the other two-fifths of the colored population, by which means four Southern votes will balance in the Congressional and Presidential elections at least seven Northern ones. The honor of your country should be dear to you, as it is; but is that honor advanced, in the eyes of the Christian world, when America alone, of all Christian nations, sustains an unjust distinction against four millions and a half of her most loyal people, on the senseless ground of a difference in color? You are anxious that the attention of every man, of every State legislature, and of Congress, should be exclusively directed to redressing the injuries sustained by the country in the late contest; are these objects more likely to be effected amid the political distractions of an embarrassing negro agitation? You are, above all, desirous that no future intestine wars should mar the prosperity and destroy the happiness of the country; will your perfect security from such evils be promoted by the existence of a colored population of four millions and a half placed, by your enactments, outside the pale of the Constitution, discontented by oppression, with an army of 200,000 colored soldiers, whom you have drilled, disciplined and armed, but whose attachment to the State you have failed to secure by refusing them citizenship? You are further anxious that your government should be an example to the world of true republican institutions; but how can you avoid the charge of inconsistency if you leave one eighth of the population of the whole country without any political rights, while bestowing these rights on every immigrant who comes to these shores, perhaps from a despotism under which he could never exercise the least political right, and had no means of forming any conception of their proper use?

We have now shown you, to the best of our ability, the necessity of the recognition of the right of suffrage for our own protection, and have suggested a few of the reasons why it is expedient you should grant us that right; but while we stand before you, pleading with you for our fellows, on the grounds of humanity and political expediency, we would not have you forget that our case also stands on the basis of constitutional right. No sane person will for a moment contend that color or birth are recognized by the Constitution of the United States as any bar to the acquisition or enjoyment of citizenship. Further, the Congress of the Confederation expressly refused, in June, 1778, to permit the insertion of the word "white" in the fourth article of Confederation, guaranteeing to the "free inhabitants" of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens, in all the States. Free people of color were recognized voters in every State but South Carolina, at the time of the formation of the Constitution of the United States, and therefore clearly formed part of the "people" of the United States, who, in the language of the preamble to the Constitution, "ordained and established" that Constitution. It follows, then, that they are entitled to a full participation in all the benefits that Constitution was ordained to confer, and, among others, to that inestimable blessing of "a republican form of government," guaranteed to the people of each State by Sec. 4th, Art. IV. of the Constitution. Further, from time immemorial, before the Constitution was established, and since its establishment, in accordance with its spirit and express provisions, our people have enjoyed all the rights of citizenship, including that of suffrage, in many of the Northern States; but if their right to vote is refused in other States, what becomes of their rights under Sec. 24, Art. IV. of the Constitution, which guarantees to them, as citizens of such a State, "all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," if the constitutional supremacy of that provision is to be set aside by State enactment? We believe this position to be impregnable, as stated in the words of counsel, in the report of the case which forms Appendix "B" to this address, that all the State laws imposing disabilities on colored people on the ground of color, "being but a creation of slavery, and passed for its maintenance and perpetuation, are part and parcel of the system, and must follow its fate." If we turn to the State Constitutions and Bills of Rights, our case is still stronger. The Constitution of Georgia *now* only prescribes as the qualification, that a voter must be "a citizen and inhabitant"; and while in the Constitutions of other of the Southern States is found the word "white," when describing the necessary qualification for the right of suffrage, yet, on the other hand, in most instances, their Bills of Rights claim the exercise of the suffrage as the natural and legal right of every freeman, in the most unqualified manner. For instance, in Delaware, the Bill of Rights declares that "every freeman having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with and attachment to the community, hath the right of suffrage." The Bill of Rights of the State of Virginia, adopted in 1776, and since prefacing and forming part of every Constitution of Virginia, declares also, in Sec. 6th, that "all elections ought to be free, and that *all men* having sufficient evidence of common interest with and attachment to the community, *have* the right of suffrage, and *cannot be taxed* or deprived of their property for public uses, without their own consent, *or that of their representatives* so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented for the public good"; and yet, in defiance of this provision, the present Constitution goes on to confine the right of voting to white men exclusively.

It is hardly necessary here to refute any of the slanders with which our enemies seek to prove our unfitness for the exercise of the right of suffrage. It is true that many of our people are ignorant, but for *that* these very men are responsible, and decency should prevent *their* use of such an argument. But if our people are ignorant, no people were ever more orderly and obedient to the laws; and no people ever displayed greater earnestness in the acquisition of knowledge. Among no other people could such a revolution have taken place without scenes of license and bloodshed; but in this case, and we say it advisedly, full information of the facts will show that no single disturbance, however slight, has occurred, which has not resulted from the unprovoked aggression of white people; and, if any one doubts how fast the ignorance, which has hitherto cursed our people, is disappearing, amid the light of freedom, let him visit the colored schools of this city and neighborhood, in which between two and three thousand pupils are being taught; while, in the evening, in colored schools, may be seen, after the labors of the day, hundreds of our adult population, from budding manhood to hoary age, toiling, with intensest eagerness, to acquire the invaluable arts of reading and writing, and the rudimentary branches of knowledge. One other objection only will we notice; it is that our people are lazy and idle; and, in support of this allegation, the objectors refer to the crowds of colored people subsisting on Government rations, and flocking into the towns. To the first statement we reply that we are poor, and that thousands of our young and able-bodied men having been enlisted in the army to fight the battles of their country, it is but reasonable that that country should contribute something to the support of those whose natural protectors that country has taken away. With reference to the crowds collected round the military posts and in the cities, we say that though some may have come there under misapprehensions as to the nature of the freedom they have just received, yet this is not the case with the majority. The colored man knows that freedom means freedom to labor, and to enjoy its fruits, and in that respect evinces at least an equal appreciation of his new position with his late owners. If he is not to be found laboring for these late owners, it is because he cannot trust them, and feels safe, in his new-found freedom, nowhere out of the presence of the national forces; if the planters want his labor, (and they do,) fair wages and fair treatment will not fail to secure it.

In conclusion, we wish to advise our colored brethren of the State and nation, that the settlement of this question is to a great extent dependent on them, and that supineness on their part will do as much to delay if not defeat the full recognition of their rights as the open opposition of avowed enemies. Then be up and active, and everywhere let associations be formed, having for their object the agitation, discussion and enforcement of your claims to equality before the law, and equal right of suffrage. Your opponents are active; be prepared, and organize to resist their efforts. We would further advise that all political associations of colored men, formed within the limits of the State of Virginia, should communicate the fact of their existence, with the names and post-office addresses of their officers, to Joseph T. Wilson, Norfolk, Va., in order that communication and friendly coöperation may be kept up between the different organizations, and facilities afforded for common and united State action, should occasion require it.

Second—Everywhere in Virginia, and doubtless in all other States, your late owners are forming Labor Associations, for the purpose of fixing and maintaining, without the least reference to your wishes or wants, the prices to be paid for your labor; and we say to you, "Go and do likewise." Let Labor Associations be at once formed among the colored people throughout the length and breadth of the United States, having for their object the protection of the colored laborer, by regulating fairly the price of labor; by affording facilities for obtaining employment by a system of registration; and last, though by no means least, by undertaking, on behalf of the colored laborer, to enforce legally the fulfilment of all contracts made with him. To insure uniformity of action in this matter, throughout this State, it is desirable that a means of communication be afforded the different associations; and, for this purpose, Mr. Wm. Keeling, of No. 96 Church street, Norfolk, Va., a member of this committee, will receive all communications giving information of such associations formed within the limits of this State.

Third—The surest guarantee for the independence and ultimate elevation of the colored people will be found in their becoming the owners of the soil on which they live and labor. To this end, let them form Land Associations, in which, by the regular payment of small instalments, a fund may be created for the purchase, at all land sales, of land on behalf of any investing member, in the name of the Association, the Association holding a mortgage on the land until, by the continued payment of a regular subscription, the sum advanced by the Association and the interest upon it are paid off, when the occupier gets a clear title. Communications from all such Associations in this State, with a view to the formation of a Union of the Virginian Colored Land Associations, will be gladly received by Mr. Geo. W. Cooke, No. 21 Fox Lane, Norfolk, Va.

Any of our white friends in this State, favorable to the views set forth in this address, would do us a great benefit by signing the pledge forming the cover of this pamphlet, and forwarding it, with their names and addresses, to either of the Recording Secretaries of the Democratic Republican Association, described in Appendix "A," Messrs. C. E. Johnson, or T. L. R. Baker, both of Norfolk.

In concluding this address, we would now make a last appeal to our fellow-citizens of all classes throughout the nation. Every Christian and humane man must feel that our demands are just; we have shown you that their concession is, for us, necessary, and for you expedient. We are Americans, we know no other country, we love the land of our birth and our fathers, we thank God for the glorious prospect before our country; and we believe that if we do but obey His laws He will yet enthrone her high over all the nations of the earth, in glory, wealth and happiness; but this exalted state can never be reached if injustice, ingratitude, and oppression of the helpless, mark the national conduct, treasuring up, as in the past, God's wrath and your misery for a day of reckoning; as the path of justice alone is ever the safe and pleasant way, and the words of Eternal Wisdom have declared that the throne (or nation) shall be established only by righteousness, and upholden by mercy. With these reflections, we leave our case in the hands of God, and to the consideration of our countrymen.

Signed, in behalf of the colored people of Norfolk and vicinity, June 26th, 1865.

Dr. THOMAS BAYNE, Norfolk, Chairman of Com.
JNO. M. BROWN, Pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Bute St., Norfolk, Va.
THOMAS HENSON, Pastor of the Catharine St. Baptist Church, Norfolk, Va.
WM. KEELING, 96 Church St., Norfolk, Va.
GEO. W. COOKE, 21 Fox Lane, Norfolk, Va.
JOSEPH T. WILSON, 26 Hawk St., Norfolk, Va.
THOS. F. PAIGE, Jr., 27 Hawk St., Norfolk, Va.
H. HIGHLAND GARNET, Pastor 15th St. Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., Honorary Member.

## THE "UNCONQUERED CLASS" IN GEORGIA.

General Carl Schurz, who, at the request of President Johnson, is making an extended tour of observation at the South, is sending to the Boston *Daily Advertiser* a series of interesting letters, from the last of which, dated Savannah, July 31, we make the following extract:—

But there is another class of people here, mostly younger men, who are still in the swearing mood. You can overhear their conversations as you pass them on the streets, or even sitting near them on the stoop of the hotel. They are not conquered, but only "overpowered." They are only smothered for a time. They want to fight the war over again, and they are sure in five years we are going to have a war bigger than any we have seen yet. They are impatient to get rid of "this d——d military despotism." They will show us what stuff Southern men are made of. They will send their own men to Congress, and show us that we cannot violate the Constitution with impunity. They have a rope ready for this or that Union man, when the Yankee bayonets are gone. They will show the Northern interlopers, who have settled down here to live upon their subsistence, the way home. They will deal largely in tar and feathers. They have been in the country, and visited this and that place, where a fine business is done in the way of killing niggers. They will let the nigger know what freedom is, only let the Yankee soldiers be withdrawn. Such is their talk. You can hear it every day if you have your ears open. You see their sullen, frowning faces at every street-corner. Now, there may be much of the old Southern braggadocio in this, and I do not believe that such men will again resort to open insurrection. But they will practise private vengeance whenever they can do it with impunity, and I have heard sober-minded Union men express their apprehension of it. This spirit is certainly no evidence of true loyalty.

It was this spirit which was active in an occurrence which disgraced this city on the 4th of July. Perhaps you have heard of it. The colored firemen of this city desired to parade their engines on the anniversary of our independence. If nobody else would, they felt like celebrating that day, and nobody will deny that it was a legitimate desire. At first, the engineer of the fire department, who is a citizen of this town, refused his permission. Finally, by the interposition of an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau, he was prevailed upon to give his consent, and the parade took place. In the principal street of the city the procession was attacked with stones, by a mob composed of the element above described, and of a crowd of boys, all swearing at the d——d niggers. The colored firemen were knocked down, some of them severely injured; their engine was taken from them, and the peaceable procession was dispersed. Down with the d——d niggers, was the cry. A Northern gentleman, who loudly expressed his indignation at the proceeding, was in danger of being mobbed, and had to seek safety in a house. You ask, where were the military? Alas, a number of Northern soldiers joined the ruffians in the attack! Northern soldiers, stationed in the South, do not always abstain from showing some of their old Five Points spirit, when the "nigger" is the victim. Witness the 165th New York, Duryea's Zouaves, who knocked down negroes in the streets of Charleston, and drove them out of the market-house, merely for a pastime, and were then, by the praiseworthy energy of Generals Gillmore and Hatch, disarmed, deprived of their colors, and shut up in Fort Sumter, to spend their time in meditation until they shall be dishonorably mustered out.

To return to the "unconquered" in Savannah—the occurrence of the 4th of July shows what they are capable of doing, even while the Yankee bayonets are still here. If, from this, we infer what they will be capable of doing when the Yankee bayonets are withdrawn, the prospect is not altogether pleasant, and Union men, white and black, in this city and neighborhood, may well entertain serious apprehensions. How numerous this "unconquered" element is, I am not able to say; perhaps not numerous enough to organize rows on a grand scale, beyond the limits of a city or a neighborhood. But it is certainly strong enough to interrupt the peaceable development of things, to render it dangerous for the Union men to live here, to prevent immigration from the North, and to bring serious conflicts between the whites and blacks.

Unfortunately, this spirit receives much encouragement from the fair sex. We have heard so much of the bitter resentment of the Southern ladies that the tale becomes stale by frequent repetition. But when inquiring into the feelings of the people, this element must not be omitted. There are certainly a good many sensible women in the South who have arrived at a just appreciation of the circumstances with which they are surrounded. But there is a large number of Southern women who are vindictive and defiant as ever, and whose temper does not permit them to lay their tongues under any restraint. You can see them in every hotel, and they will treat you to the most ridiculous exhibitions whenever an occasion offers. A day or two ago, a Union officer, yielding to an impulse of politeness, handed a dish of pickles to a Southern lady at the dinner-table of a hotel in this city. A look of unspeakable scorn and indignation met him. "So you think," said the lady, "a Southern woman will take a dish of pickles from a hand that is dripping with the blood of her countrymen!" It is remarkable upon what trifling materials this female wrath is feeding and growing fat. In a certain district in South Carolina, the ladies were some time ago, and perhaps are now, dreadfully exercised about the veil question. You may ask me what the veil question is. Formerly—under the old order of things—negro women were not permitted to wear veils. This is an outrage which cannot be submitted to. The white ladies of that neighborhood agree in being indignant beyond measure. Some of them declare that whenever they meet a colored woman wearing a veil, they will tear the veil from her face. Others, mindful of the consequences which such an act of violence might draw after it under this same new order of things, declare their resolve never to wear veils themselves as long as colored women wear them. That is the veil question, and this is the way it stands at present.

Such things may seem trifling and ridiculous. But it is a well-known fact that a silly woman is sometimes able to exercise a powerful influence over a man not half as silly; and the class of "unconquered" above described is undoubtedly in a great measure composed of individuals that are apt to be influenced by silly women. It has frequently been said that, had it not been for the spirit of Southern women, the rebellion would have broken down long ago, and there is, no doubt, a grain of truth in it. The same spirit of the female part of the community, although undoubtedly at present much less powerful in a quantitative sense, is now contributing to keep those bitter feelings alive, which, as long as kept under a sufficient control, may be harmless, and gradually die away; but which, if prematurely relieved of that control, may lead to serious conflicts.

## EDUCATION OF THE FREEDMEN.

Major-Gen. Howard addressed the following letter to the American Institute of Instruction, in session at New Haven, Conn.:

"I am particularly rejoiced at the proposed discussion of the subject relating to the education of the American freedmen. My purpose is to aid the work of education by every means of encouragement that are or may come within my power. As Commissioner of Freedmen or Refugees, I will have the general superintendence of the work in the States where I have assistant commissioners, and have already provided, when possible, that the teachers shall have quarters and fuel, and they are permitted to have the army ration by purchase, which lessens the cost of board one-half. Where the blacks have received money or wages enough, they will feed as many teachers as the benevolent agencies may send them. So they promise. Then send the teachers, and organize as many schools as possible.

The difficulties will be from the opposition of blind prejudice or real ignorance. Some men will shut their plantations as far as they can against loyal teachers, and we must meet them in the spirit of missionaries. My agents are instructed to give full protection to the schools. They will always have the power to call for military aid; but I am much induced to exercise every other method before calling for military force. We must do what we can to overcome prejudice or opposition, by carrying with us the spirit of Christ into every nook and corner of the South, rejoice over every foot of ground gained, and never be discouraged at costumely or failure. The whites need much real effort in their behalf. I have scarcely ever found a white child that could read, in passing through Georgia and South Carolina. The union of the different benevolent agencies is really a move in the right direction. It will harmonize and encourage the efforts of those whose hearts are longing for a successful fulfillment of the promise of this wonderful revolution. Work and schools go hand in hand. When free labor is well regulated and properly settled, as will soon be the case, with a large influx of immigration and a purchase or rental of land by freedmen, more or less extended, schools and churches will spring into existence. More than 20,000 people, old and young, in the insurrectionary States, have learned to read in the last three years. The soldiers of regiments, and schools established all over those States, attest to the energy put forth. With the loyal Government, the loyal Christians and the negroes on one side, working night and day, what will be the efforts of a few blind guides on the other? It is for the interest of the South to co-operate with us, and God grant her sons and daughters the wisdom to do so before he afflicts them further!

Very truly yours,
O. O. HOWARD,
Major-General.

## MR. NASBY ISSUES AN ADDRESS TO THE SOUTHERN DEMOCRACY.

SAINT'S REST, (wich is in the Stait uv Noo Gersey,) July 31, 1865.

To the Dimocrisy uv the Southern States: Decrly Beloved, I saloot yoo!

The evence uv the past 4 yeers hev bin momentchus. The war hez ended—to a sooperfishel observer it wood seem disastrusly to you and us, but to him whose eye kin pierce the misty fucher, gellorusly.

Troo, we lost the orfisis, and hev bin for 4 long and weery years on steril ground, whose frooits was wormy and whose waters was bitter. So the children uv Izrel wandered forty yeers in the wilderniss, but they finelly found a Canan, full uv fatnis, runnin with milk and honey, and sich, and so shall we emerge into our Canan, ere long.

The war hez hed its uses. We hev diskivered that the Southern Dimokrat cood be dependid on to fite; you hev diskivered that the Northern Dimokrat cood be depended on to do yoor dirty work, thro thick or thin, and we hev both diskivered that the Abolishnist is no koward, and will freely make sacrifices for principle. Knowin all this, we kin work intelligently in the fucher.

It is the dooty now uv every Suthern Dimokrat to take the oath, to-wunst, and be metamorphose in 2 loyalty. Then we've got em. Demand, ez only a Sutherner kin demand, that the military be withdrawd, and that yur Representatives be admitted. Then, ef we kin carry enuff deestriks North, you hev the game in your own hand. But to accomplish this last feet, you must aid us.

We hev bin unforchnit in our politikle venchers, and at least wun uv our prophecies must com troo, utherwise how kin we go afore the people? The nigger is all we've left, and the variety we her up here is ov no yoose to us, fer they are all earnin their own livin, and aint crowdin white folks out uv poor housis, at all. Its my candid conviction, that the grovelin cusses work and earn munny, jest 2 spite us. In sum localities our sagashus managers hev indoost sum uv em to drink with em, and in a few months got em into delirium tremens, and their families into poor housis. To their untutored bowels our likker is litenin. But this can't be dun generally, becoz its all our leaders kin do to keep their own skins full. To you we look for aid.

An enterprisin Yankee [cusses on the race] was wunst askt wat biznis he followd to maik so much munny. He replide that he hed the itch, and he traveld ahed, givin it to people, his brother comin immejitly after, sellin a cure. Let us imitait their wisdom. Promptly ship to eech northern state 200,000 old wuns who can't work, and to maik adoorence doubly shoor, starve em a while, and run the measles and small-pox thro em. Mix with em a few thousand black wimmen with mulatter children, to show the horrors uv amalgamashun. Then we'd have suthin to go on! Ef we carted em in2 poorhousis, and levid taxis to support em, how our speekers wood gush; how our papers wood howl! After 4 yeers uv faleyoor in the prophecy bizniss, the ijee uv hevin wun cum troo sets me into a delirum tremens uv goy.

Then immejitly, your Legislachers must pass stringent laws agin a nigger leavin his respective county, and then pass another law not allowin anybody to give the able-bodied wuns to exceed $5 a month. This dun, I hev faith to bleeve thousands uv em will beg to be agin enslaved, about mid winter. Ef they will persist in dyin in freedom, we kin, at least, pint 2 ther bodis, and say in a sepulkrel tone, "wen niggers wus wuth $1,500 they was not allowd to die thus—behold the froots uv Abolish philantropy." Either way its capitle for us.

Yoo must inkulkate the doctrine of Stait Rites zeluser than ever, and while yoo air gittin your people tuned up on that, we'll hammer away at Debt, and Corupshun, and sich deliteful themes, and wunst more we'll git the Ablishnist under our feet.

I hev indikatid breefly the ginral outlines uv the polisy we must pursoo ef we wood suckcede. Uther ijees will uv course sejest themselves to you. Let us hev em, and we'll act on em.

In conclushun. Be wary and untirin. Remember on yoo depends the politikle forchoons uv the thousands who wunst held offis, but who hev been to grass fer 4 long, weery yeers. We must suckcede now or never.

PETROLEUM V. NASBY.
Lait Paster uv the Church uv the Noo Dispensashun.

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